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BEAUMARCHAIS AND "THE LOST MILLION."

A CHAPTER OF THE SECRET HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

BY CHARLES J. STILLÉ.

SUSANNE.

Quant à la politique?

BEGEARRS.

Ah! c'est l'art de créer des faits, les évènemens et les hommes; l'intérêt est son but; l'intrigue son moyen; toujours sobre de vérités, ses vastes et riches conceptions sont un prisme qui éblouit; aussi profonde que l'Etna, elle brûle et gronde longtemps avant d'éclater au-dehors, mais alors rien ne lui résiste; elle exige de hauts talens; le scrupule seul lui peut nuire; c'est le secret des négociateurs.—

La Mère Coupable:
Drame par Beaumarchais,
Acte IV., Scène IV.

I.

There are few persons in modern time whose career has given rise to criticism of such an opposite character as that of Beaumarchais. He was, as all agree, a very considerable personage in France in the last quarter of the eighteenth

century, but how far he was a charlatan, and how far in his various enterprises he was a true and honest man, it is not easy to decide. He was the greatest dramatic author of his day, in the sense that he wrote a comedy (*Le Mariage de Figaro*) which did more to open men's eyes to the monstrous evils of the government under which they lived than any other literary work of the time; he was, besides, a secret diplomatic agent employed by two Kings of France in negotiations of the utmost delicacy, which, in order that they might reach a successful issue, required that absolute confidence and trust should be placed in his secrecy and honor (a trust which, we ought to say, seems never to have been misplaced). He was the hero of many lawsuits, which, owing to their connection with the general politics of the time, and to the brilliant way he managed them, gave him a European reputation; yet he had been condemned by the *Parlement de Paris* to an infamous punishment for having produced in one of these lawsuits a receipt or discharge of a debt which that Court had pronounced supposititious, while by his keen satire of existing abuses he was thought by not a few, including the King, to be really undermining the foundations of the throne which he was professing to serve. To many he seems only a vain, ever active, unscrupulous intriguer, employing without hesitation lying and mystification whenever necessary to accomplish his object, which is assumed to have always been his self-advancement, and the gratification of an inordinate vanity for making himself talked of. By others, he is thought chiefly responsible for the success of two revolutions,—that of France, by holding up in the full light of day before the average Frenchman monstrous evils which had never before been so vividly portrayed, and that of America, by the energy which he exhibited in supplying us with arms and clothing for an army of twenty-five thousand men, supplies which, we must admit, were essential to our military success against Great Britain. In France, in the highly feverish condition of things which existed just before the outbreak of the Revolution, he was undoubtedly one of the foremost

leaders of public opinion, his denunciation of practical abuses, which every one recognized, reaching classes of the people wholly unaffected by the humanitarian doctrines of Diderot and Rousseau; and for his aid to America in the hour of her sorest need, whatever may have been his motive, or however questionable may have been some of his proceedings, we should never cease to be profoundly grateful. To his special power as a literary man in France at this time no one is a more competent witness than M. Taine, and he says, "It was necessary for the promoters of the Revolution to enforce the doctrine of the philosophers with brilliancy, with wit, and with a certain gayety of style and manner which would create public scandal. This Beaumarchais did in *Le Mariage de Figaro.* He exhibited a faithful picture of the *ancien régime* before the chiefs of the *ancien régime.* He used the stage as the place where a political and social satire would be most effective. He fixed publicly on each abuse a placard which told of its peculiar infamy. In short, he portrayed by a few bold touches a living picture, reproducing in the most telling way the complaints of the philosophers against the state prisons, against the censorship of the press, against the scandalous sale of public offices, against the privileges of birth and rank, against the arbitrary power of the ministers, and against the incapacity of the men who then held office." (*L'Ancien Régime*, 360.)

To this man our forefathers were told in the early days of the Revolution to look for succor and safety. The more they heard about him the more completely did his position seem a mystery and riddle to them. To their sober and practical minds it was hard to conceive of him as a beneficent fairy who, unsolicited, was willing to send us millions of dollars' worth of the supplies we most needed to carry on the war, and who, as they were told by Arthur Lee, the earliest American commissioner in Europe, never suggested that he was to be paid for them, but merely hinted that it would be well for Congress to make him certain shipments of tobacco to conceal his transactions from the English. The

Americans had no experience of merchants who carried on business in this way. It was not their interest, however, to inquire too closely into the source from which these supplies came, and they were inclined to settle down into the belief that Beaumarchais was a convenient *prête-nom* for the French government, which had so many reasons for encouraging us in our resistance, and so many more to conceal the aid it was giving us in our struggle with Great Britain. Whatever the Secret Committee or the Committee on Commerce of the old Congress may have thought or suspected, they did not, so long as the military supplies were provided in reasonable abundance, inquire with too much curiosity into their source. They accepted them with thankfulness, not doubting that they would discover in due time to whom they were indebted for them. In the mean time they chose to regard them as gifts from the King of France. For more than two years and a half they were under this pleasant delusion. They were confirmed in the opinion expressed by Arthur Lee, by letters written by the American Commissioners in Paris, who told the Secret Committee, in October, 1777, that they had been assured that these supplies were intended as *don gratuit*, or a voluntary gift, on the part of the French government. Of course, under these circumstances, they made no effort to pay for them. Beaumarchais, under the name of Roderigue Hortalez & Co., tired of waiting for remittances from this country, sent an agent here in the beginning of the year 1778, who, in a tone very different from the high-flown rhetoric of his master's letters, demanded full payment for all the supplies which had been sent. This demand dispelled all the dreams about *don gratuit* on the part of France. After ascertaining from the French government that Beaumarchais, under the name of Hortalez & Co., was really the man they had been dealing with, Congress, in January, 1779, made a partial settlement with his agent, and directed their president to write a letter of thanks and of apology to Beaumarchais for their delay in paying him. He received a large sum on account at that time, but a final settlement was delayed until further information

from France reached them. While the liquidation was slowly going on, the French government, in 1781, entered into a treaty with our Commissioners in Paris, by which it agreed to loan to the United States a certain sum of money. In the preamble to this treaty there was a recapitulation of the sums paid by the French government for our use and account, but regarded as voluntary gifts, prior to the treaty of alliance in 1778, and an explicit statement was made that these sums, amounting to three millions of livres, were to be considered as an absolute gift from the French King to us, and we were released from all liability therefor. It was discovered some time afterwards that our Commissioners had been paid by the French government, not three millions, but two millions, prior to the treaty. Inquiry was, of course, made in France as to the person to whom this million had been paid. That government, for reasons which will be explained hereafter, refused to give the name of the person to whom payment had been made, but it gave the date of the payment, June 10, 1776. The accounting officers of the Treasury believed that this particular million was a portion of the secret-service money paid by France to Beaumarchais for our use on the 10th June, 1776, and that it had been expended in the purchase of supplies sent us; and as this million had subsequently been made by the action of the French government a present to us, they felt that Beaumarchais should not be paid twice for the same service, and thus they charged it against him in the settlement of his claim. Beaumarchais protested against such a decision. A controversy ensued, which lasted until 1835, in which the questions were, Whence came this "lost million," and what had become of it, by whom had it been used, and for what purpose?—questions between ourselves and Beaumarchais in the first instance, and afterwards between the French government and ours, which urged in his name his claim upon us. These questions involved interminable discussions about the rights and obligations which arose out of our secret diplomatic arrangements with France during the Revolution; they were the subject of many conflicting reports from

committees of Congress for more than fifty years, two Committees on Claims, two Select Committees, and two Attorneys-General, recommending the payment of the claim, while two Committees on Claims and one Select Committee reported against its payment.

It seems to me important for the good name of the country as well as for the truth of history that these transactions and their motives should be carefully examined and the fullest possible light thrown upon them. As a matter of curiosity it is certainly worth knowing what became of this lost million, the origin and destiny of which were so carefully covered up by the French government. But the interest in such a discussion is of a wider and more permanent kind, for it embraces not merely a view of the manner in which the military supplies essential to the prosecution of the war of the Revolution were obtained, but how far they were voluntary gifts bestowed upon us by France to secure her own ends in our quarrel, and how far we showed ourselves duly grateful for them. Our government has been branded with something worse than ingratitude—with dishonesty—in its persistent refusal to pay Beaumarchais this "lost million." Such an impression was doubtless made on the French government by our course, judging from the voluminous correspondence which was kept up for so many years between that government and our own, and our conduct was long spoken of as an illustration of the old saying that Republics were not only ungrateful, but shifty and tricky in their dealings. Such is the conclusion openly avowed by M. Louis de Loménie, the author of an elaborate life of Beaumarchais, published in 1856; a book looked upon in France as of such high literary merit that it secured for its author a chair in the French Academy. The whole story, which for many years figured among the proceedings of Congress as the most sensational in its details of any which had ever formed the basis of a claim before that body, has strangely slipped out of the memory of the present generation, and it seems to me worth while now to retrace some of its principal features. There were always

doubts, no doubt honestly entertained by the majority of Congress, against the validity of the claim, and these doubts, it appears to me, have been strengthened, or, as I should rather say, have been proved to be well founded, by facts which have come to light since the subject passed beyond its jurisdiction in 1835.

Usually it is dull work plodding through the details of a claim for the payment of money made against the government. But this is one *sui generis*. To understand it we must know something of the inner and more secret history of the American Revolution, we must weigh carefully the reasons for the peculiar relations of England and France towards each other prior to the Treaty of Alliance with us in 1778, we must understand just why and how France was willing to help us, and how essential it was that any aid given by her should be kept as far as it was possible from the knowledge of England. We must know something too of what constituted the secret diplomatic agent of those days, how one of his chief functions was to lie in the most barefaced manner if there seemed to be any danger of compromising his government by telling the truth, and how he ran the risk at any moment of being disavowed by those who employed him if it suited their purpose. All these things are familiar enough to those who study the tortuous ways of that department of government administration called the secret service, but a drama of this kind with Beaumarchais acting the principal part has a special and peculiar interest of its own, combining all the attractiveness, brilliancy, and rapid changes of scene so striking in his own comedies. The whole story, indeed, is one of the most curious romances of modern diplomacy. The nature of the service that was rendered to us, and the motives which prompted it, the extraordinary pains which were taken to enable France to disavow any connection with it, and especially the character and the career of the man who was selected as the agent in this business, are well worth the study of those who would understand an important chapter in our early history. Let us see in the first place what was

the condition of this country when our fathers first sought aid in Europe; what they most needed, and how they set about procuring it.

II.

At an early period of the Revolution the attention of the Continental Congress was drawn towards the possibility of securing foreign aid and intervention. What we needed most was a supply of arms, and especially of powder for cannon, to enable us to place our armies in the field in a proper condition and efficient state. We were almost without any means of supplying their indispensable needs, as is proved by the great scarcity of weapons and the extreme difficulty of procuring powder for cannon, which were points of weakness conspicuous in our early battles. So far as I can discover, cannon-powder was not manufactured at that time in this country. We were not only destitute of the weapons with which our enemies were armed, but we had very limited means of clothing our soldiers; and in looking forward to a long war the authorities must have been sorely puzzled to determine how these most necessary wants should be supplied. On the 29th November, 1775, a committee of Congress, afterwards called the Secret Committee, consisting of Mr. Harrison, Dr. Franklin, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Dickinson, and Mr. Jay, was appointed, and directed to enter into correspondence with persons of influence in Europe supposed to be friendly to the American cause. What was chiefly relied upon at that time in order to secure the aid and comfort which we needed was the universal jealousy of Great Britain existing on the Continent, where the complaint was general that she had abused the victory secured by the treaty of 1763 to monopolize the commerce of the world, and especially that with America. This feeling, of course, was more intense in France than anywhere else. She had suffered not only great positive loss by the destruction of her commerce and by being forced to give up by the treaty Canada and her vast possessions in India and the West Indies, but besides all this there was a deep

feeling of national humiliation,—how strong none but a Frenchman could know, when he recalled how her armies had been vanquished by those of her rival in both worlds. Dr. Franklin, fully aware of this irritability of national feeling, began the correspondence by writing to a Frenchman, a friend of his, then residing in Holland, whom he knew to be a friend of the struggling colonists. In this letter he hinted that possibly some of the European powers might find it to their advantage to enter into an alliance with us for the benefit to be derived from our commerce, which, he stated, amounted before the war to nearly seven millions sterling, and "which must ultimately increase, as our population grows rapidly." It will be observed as a significant fact that in these first overtures for alliance no appeal whatever was made to any sympathy with the rights of man, in favor of which nearly all educated Europe was then declaiming, and for the maintenance of which we afterwards asserted in the Declaration of Independence we were contending, but only to the common notion of self-interest and to the practical and substantial advantages of the commerce which foreign nations would gain by entering into an alliance with us. It is to be remembered that throughout the Revolution these, and these only, were the inducements we offered to secure either recognition or material aid from foreign powers.

On the 2d of March, 1776, the Secret Committee took a further step. They appointed Mr. Silas Deane, then a member of Congress from Connecticut, the commercial and political agent of the United States in Europe. He was furnished with letters to Dr. Franklin's friends in France, M. Le Ray de Chaumont, a capitalist, and Dr. Dubourg, who held a high position at that time as a man of science in Paris. Mr. Deane was told by his instructions that his political business was to sound M. de Vergennes, the foreign minister, as to the possibility of procuring aid in the way of supplies and a loan for us in France; and if he found him favorable, he was further to hint as to the conditions of a future alliance. His commercial business was to secure per-

mission for the purchase in France of military supplies of all kinds needed for an army of twenty-five thousand men. Mr. Deane was presented by Dr. Dubourg to M. de Vergennes in July, 1776. He was received kindly by the minister, but was told that recognition and alliance were subjects in "the womb of time," and not then to be discussed. As to permission to purchase military supplies in France, he was told plainly that it could not be given, because it would compromise the obligations of neutrality which France was forced to preserve in our contest with Great Britain. He was informed, however, significantly, that although the government, as such, could do nothing, there was a certain M. de Beaumarchais, a merchant, who might possibly aid the American agent to transact his business in France. In the mean time he was promised freedom from molestation while engaged in any transactions concerning the purchase of supplies which did not compromise French neutrality. The truth is that at this time the French government was much further on the road towards helping the Americans than Deane suspected, or than was indeed known to any one at that time outside the inner circle of the King's Court. It now appears that Turgot,* the French Controller-General, who had as early as 1767 been the intimate friend of Dr. Franklin, proposed, in April, 1776, in a memoir to the King, a plan for the secret intervention of the government in favor of the Colonies, which in its main features was the one finally adopted, and the invention of which, by the way, Beaumarchais always claimed as his own. Turgot, in his secret memoir, proposes that every facility should be given to the Colonies to enable them to procure in the way of commerce such articles as they required, and even the money which they needed, France taking care not to violate its neutrality by giving them succor directly or openly. Doubtless this plan was in the mind of M. de Vergennes when Deane was referred by him for further information to Beaumarchais.

* To him has been ascribed the famous line descriptive of Franklin, *Eripuit cœlo fulmen, sceptrumque tyrannis.*

From this time forth Beaumarchais becomes the principal actor in the drama. This intensely restless gentleman was not satisfied to wait until his government had decided when and how to act, but was constant and profuse in his advice to the King and to De Vergennes in regard to the plan that should be adopted to succor us even in its minutest details. His letters, if one did not know his reputation in France at that time of a *fanfaron* (in which capacity he was permitted unusual license in his style of writing), seem like an attempt to usurp the proper functions of the heads of the government. On the 29th February, 1776, he sends a memoir to the King, in which he tells him, among other things,—

"We have now reached the crisis, and I am obliged to inform your Majesty that the preservation of our possessions in America, as well as the peace which your Majesty so earnestly desires to maintain, is dependent upon one thing, viz., *succor to the Americans.*"

After hinting that the Americans if not succored may conclude peace with Great Britain, a result which, he tells the King, would be disastrous to France, he goes on to speak of the proposition which had been made to him as agent in London by Arthur Lee, whom he calls the secret deputy of Congress.

"We offer to France," he makes Arthur Lee say, "in return for her secret aid, a secret treaty of commerce, which will enable her to enjoy during a certain number of years all the profit of that commerce which has enriched England for a hundred years; and, besides, we agree to guarantee the possession of the French colonies as far as we are able."

It is very doubtful whether Arthur Lee ever made such propositions. It is certain that he never had any authority to do so. In another letter to the King, which is probably the one referred to in the previous memoir as having been written "three months ago," Beaumarchais writes,—

"The constant effort should be to convince the Congress that, while your Majesty cannot in any way interest himself in its affairs, a company has been formed with the generous intention of turning over to the prudent management of a faithful agent a large sum of money, by which the Americans shall receive constant succor, for which they will pay by shipments of tobacco. Your Majesty will then begin by placing a million at the disposal of your agent, who will assume the name of Roderigue Hortalez & Cie. One-half of this money shall be exchanged into *moidores* (a Portuguese coin), and sent to America as a basis for their paper money; the other half shall be expended in the purchase of gunpowder. It is the hope of Hortalez & Cie. that they may be able to buy with this money from the Registers of your Majesty's powder and saltpetre depots all the powder they need at from four to six sols a pound, which powder Hortalez & Cie. will sell to the Americans at twenty sols a pound."

He then goes on to explain that this plan is not proposed in order that Beaumarchais shall receive these large profits, but that they may constitute a fund which will enable him to supply the Americans with powder at all times. He then proceeds to show that these profits will increase in a geometrical ratio, and that in a few years the Americans will be bound to France by a debt of nine millions of livres.

His mode of raising the money for this operation is very characteristic, and savors rather of the tastes and habits of the dramatist than of those of the merchant. He tells the King,—

"It is pleasant to think that we may succor the Americans with English money. This is easily done. Let an order be issued that all the foreign horses and carriages which arrive in any of your seaports shall be taxed with the same duty which ours pay in England. If you adopt this plan you need give yourself no further trouble about finding funds for Hortalez & Cie."

He goes on to say,—

"The adoption of this plan in procuring for your Majesty the sweet pleasure of not employing any other money to aid the Americans than such as this duty will draw from Eng-

land herself has something *spicy* in it, which seems to me like sowing flowers upon the dry soil of the commercial affairs of Hortalez & Cie."*

III.

How did it happen, then, that a man such as we conceive Beaumarchais to have been, vain, boastful, never satisfied unless he was gratifying his love of notoriety, could have been employed by the French government in negotiations which required the utmost discretion and secrecy, and that he should have been intrusted with vast sums of money for that purpose? How could a man who had given such evidence of his inaptitude for managing commercial affairs that, as Dr. Dubourg told M. de Vergennes in 1776, "no merchant or manufacturer in France could be found who would not hesitate to engage in the smallest commercial business with him,"—how did he become the trusted agent of the French government in this delicate and difficult business? To tell the truth, this is not the least of the mysteries in his connection with our affairs, and possibly some light may be thrown upon it by his previous history.

Beaumarchais was a man of obscure origin. His true name was Caron, and he assumed that of Beaumarchais from a small estate which belonged to his first wife. His father was a watchmaker in Paris, and he followed with some success the same calling. His love of notoriety was his earliest, as it continued to be through life his most striking, characteristic. He called upon the French Academy to decide whether he or a rival workman was the true inventor of an *escapement* for a watch; not that he cared for the credit of the invention so much as that this curious appeal would cause him to be talked about. He was passionately fond of music, and had special skill in playing the harp,

* This letter, which is of great historical value, as showing not merely the nature of the "disinterested services" of France during the Revolution, but also the plan and motives of Beaumarchais when he became the agent, was first published in the second volume of the *American Historical Magazine*, p. 666. Previously it was suppressed, perhaps because too characteristic.

an instrument then little known in France. He became the teacher of music to *Mesdames*, as the four unmarried daughters of Louis XV. were then called, and by his skill and pleasant manners soon became a great favorite with them. He was ambitious of advancement, and far from satisfied with a position which had no more solid recompense to give than enabling him to provide gratuitously for the royal amusement. An office to him had no value unless it helped him to make money. For the nobility of the day, especially for those who then held the minor offices at Court, he had the utmost contempt. When reproached by one of his rivals with being a *parvenu*, and not a noble, he repels the charge with a certain mock dignity which reminds one of scenes in *Le Mariage de Figaro*, and exclaims, "If any one doubts that I am a noble, let me tell him that I have in my pocket the receipt for the money I paid for the patent." At this time he had purchased the office of *Clerc Contrôleur de la bouche de sa Majesté;* in other words, his business was to see that his Majesty's dinner was properly served, a dignified position which required that the man who undertook to perform its arduous duties should be a nobleman. But in the strange way in which things were then done at the French Court this office could be made use of as a lever to raise him from the obscurity of his position.

In 1760 there lived in France a famous army contractor, Pâris du Verney by name. He was one of three brothers who had gained large fortunes by furnishing supplies for the public service. Gains of this kind, although hardly in accord with our notions of the civil service, were then regarded both in England and in France as entirely legitimate, and some of the largest fortunes in both countries have had their origin in this source. This Pâris du Verney, it seems, was not satisfied merely with accumulating a large fortune. He desired to be remembered by posterity as a public benefactor rather than as a rich man. After the disasters of the wars in Germany, where every one but himself had lost in reputation and in pocket, he conceived the plan of building the Military School which is still in existence in

the *Champs de Mars.* After spending vast sums upon the building and in its endowment, he found that the school languished for want of royal countenance and support, Louis XV. being selfishly indifferent to the success of an establishment in which it was proposed to educate officers for his service. Even Madame de Pompadour, who was a friend of Du Verney, could not stir the sluggish blood of the royal voluptuary so far as to make him show an interest in this noble foundation. Du Verney then had recourse to Beaumarchais in his quality as teacher of the royal Princesses. He urged him to induce these ladies to visit the Military School, not doubting that their visit would be followed by that of their father. Beaumarchais, with that wonderful sagacity which enabled him always keenly to scent afar off the path of self-advancement, and who saw at once how much might be gained by the friendship of Du Verney, persuaded the Princesses to make the visit. Of course they were greatly delighted; and Louis XV., whose one really good trait seems to have been a sort of good-natured fondness for his daughters, followed their example, and the future of the Military School was thus assured. Du Verney's professions of gratitude to Beaumarchais were profuse, and if that gratitude is to be measured by the favors which he showered upon him, it must have been deep indeed. He recognized his aid by giving him what Beaumarchais most valued, an interest in the profits of a large contract for supplies for the public service, lent him money for speculations by which, under the advice of Du Verney, he made large gains, and he seems to have been ready at all times to advance him money for whatever purpose he needed. This was the stepping-stone to the fortune of Beaumarchais.

We next hear of him at Madrid, where he endeavors to persuade the government to enter into a contract with him for supplying the Spanish colonies with all the slaves they might need, and for furnishing the Spanish garrisons in Europe and Africa with their daily rations, an operation which would have required, according to his statement, an

expenditure of over twenty millions of francs a year. How far he succeeded in entering upon these contracts does not clearly appear, but in a few months he writes, "*J'ai déjà perdu trois ou quatre fois plus que je n'ai vaillant au monde; d'indignes ennemis ont barré mon chemin,*" etc.

The next step in his life which brought him into conspicuous notoriety was his quarrel with the heirs of Pâris du Verney. They claimed a large sum as due from Beaumarchais to the estate of Du Verney. Beaumarchais, on the trial of this question before the *Parlement de Paris*, produced an account as settled between himself and Du Verney in his lifetime, in which Beaumarchais appeared as a creditor, and not as a debtor, of his deceased friend and benefactor. His heirs did not hesitate to attack this alleged account as spurious, thereby charging Beaumarchais with an offence which, if not forgery, closely resembled it. On the report of the Judge, Goëzman, to whom, according to the French practice, the question was referred, the Court pronounced that the heirs of Du Verney had well-founded reasons for the objection they had made to the account, and Beaumarchais was accordingly sentenced to the punishment technically called *blâme*, which involved civil degradation and incapacity to hold any office. Such a punishment would have completely crushed any other man, but in the case of Beaumarchais it was by his skill and adroitness made the means of his further advancement. The practice then was for a suitor to visit privately the Judge who was charged by the Court to report upon his case, and to endeavor to convince him that the report should be in his favor. Beaumarchais found it difficult to reach the Judge, and he did not hesitate to offer the wife of Goëzman one hundred louis in money, a watch of equal value, and an extra *douceur* of fifteen louis if she would secure him an interview with her husband. The report, as we have seen, was unfavorable to Beaumarchais, whereupon, after a few days, the hundred louis and the watch were, according to agreement, returned, but the fifteen louis were retained, or rather their receipt was positively denied.

Beaumarchais at once determined to make a bold stroke which he hoped would not merely destroy the *Parlement Maupeou* and its Judges, who for various reasons were at that time excessively unpopular in France, but would call away public attention from his punishment and turn it to the iniquity of the *Parlement.* He accordingly presented a petition to the Court, in which he alleged that Madame Goëzman retained the fifteen louis which had been extorted from him as a bribe to secure justice. The accusation made a prodigious sensation both in the Court and in the public. Throughout Europe people became interested in the question, which involved the purity of the French administration of justice. The excitement was kept up by the printing of *Mémoires* on both sides, according to the French practice, and the result was a controversy in which it was very clear that Beaumarchais was far too strong for his opponents. Goëzman lost his place, and the *Parlement Maupeou* was a short time afterwards abolished, while Beaumarchais, from having been almost a convicted forger, was now looked upon as the hero of the hour, and became the most popular man in Paris.

We have told this story at some length because it illustrates not only the extraordinary skill and adroitness of Beaumarchais in getting out of scrapes, but also the manner in which he made them contribute to his one object in life,—his intense desire to keep the public eye fixed upon himself. His exploits of this sort excited universal attention. Even the King, Louis XV., who had become tired of hearing Beaumarchais talked about, and who was not very well satisfied with the turn his affairs had taken, began to think that he might be usefully employed in a very delicate negotiation. The necessities of a monarch, like those of other mortals, know no law. The King had been informed that a certain French adventurer in London had printed and was about to publish a Life of Madame Dubarry, in which the special weaknesses of that lady were to be exhibited in the liveliest manner for the amusement of the scandal-loving public. This book, of course, must be suppressed at all hazards and

at any cost. In order to accomplish what was certainly not an easy object, the King cast his eyes upon Beaumarchais as having proved that he had the qualities of a fit agent for such a purpose, convict and degraded, in the technical sense, as he still was. Beaumarchais readily undertook the mission, went to London, saw the libeller, and by a mixture of diplomatic shrewdness and the use of money he secured the whole edition of the book, amounting to several thousand copies, and burned them. On his return in triumph to Paris he found Louis XV. ill, and in a few days the King died. Beaumarchais was no richer for the expedition, and was still under the judicial sentence of *blâme.* This, however, did not prevent his being intrusted with a second expedition to London, where Louis XVI. had been informed that a certain Jew was about publishing scandalous memoirs of Marie Antoinette. He succeeded in procuring this man's silence and the destruction of his books by the outlay of a large sum of money. But, according to his story, some of the books were held back, and with them the libeller had fled to Germany, hoping to print an edition there. Beaumarchais, nothing daunted, pursued him to that country, met with a remarkable series of adventures, and finally reached Vienna. There he represented to Maria Theresa, the Empress of Germany, and mother of Marie Antoinette, what had befallen him; and so absurd did his story appear that he was kept in prison in Vienna for a month as an impostor or madman, and then sent back to France.

Notwithstanding all this, Beaumarchais seems to have still retained the confidence of Louis XVI., for he was shortly afterwards employed to obtain from that mysterious personage *Le Chevalier d'Eon* in London certain secret state papers of importance of which he had the possession and which he threatened to print. Connected with this mission was another of a different kind, which was nothing less than an attempt to induce the Chevalier, by the payment of a large sum of money, to return to France, and thenceforward to appear there in woman's clothes only. It is strange that a *maître passé* in such matters like Beaumarchais should have

been deceived with regard to the sex of the Chevalier; all the more strange as he attempted to accomplish his object by making love to the supposed lady. He calls her a *vieille fille*, and the details of his negotiations on this basis are more amusing than edifying.

IV.

This was the man and such were his antecedents when M. de Vergennes referred Silas Deane to Beaumarchais as likely to aid him in his business in France. In the spring of 1776, when Beaumarchais was notorious in London for his relations with D'Eon, he met at the dinner-table of Wilkes, then the Lord Mayor, Mr. Arthur Lee, the secret agent or Deputy of Congress in Europe. According to Mr. Lee's statement to Congress, Beaumarchais on this occasion, without any solicitation on Lee's part, offered on behalf of the French government to send Congress two hundred thousand *louis d'or*, as well as such arms, ammunition, and other military stores as might be needed. These gifts he proposed should be transmitted in a secret manner, so as to avoid compromising the French obligations of neutrality towards Great Britain. In order to accomplish this object, he proposed that the business should appear to be a simple commercial transaction, and that some tobacco or other produce of the United States should be shipped to France as a pretext of payment. It is right to say that Beaumarchais always denied that he had ever made any such proposition to Lee on behalf of the French government, while Lee and his brothers (one of whom was the celebrated Richard Henry Lee of Virginia, who moved the adoption of the Declaration of Independence) always insisted in Congress that such had been the original agreement.

Be that as it may, Beaumarchais shortly afterwards returned to Paris, where in July, 1776, he met Mr. Deane, and in that month, having convinced the agent of the United States of his ability to furnish supplies, an agreement, rather than a formal contract, was made between them, by which

cannon, powder, small-arms, ammunition, and clothing sufficient for the equipment of an army of twenty-five thousand men were to be sent to America. Deane proposed that these articles should be paid for, not in money, of which at that time the United States had none, but in shipments of tobacco to the house of Roderigue Hortalez & Co., the pseudonym which Beaumarchais had assumed for this purpose. Deane, however, was careful to point out that these payments could not be depended upon with any regularity, as the American ships were liable to be captured, and other unforeseen accidents might occur. These arrangements were acquiesced in by Beaumarchais, and the shipments were made during the last six months of 1776. In all, eight cargoes were sent, the money value of which was about five millions of livres; their value to the American colonies, as they encouraged them to persevere and placed in the hands of their soldiers the arms and equipment which enabled them to gain the victories of the campaigns of 1777, was of course simply priceless. Of the funds which enabled Beaumarchais to purchase these articles it now appears that France provided, on the 10th of June, 1776, a million (a sum the source and destination of which, under the name of "the lost million," France and the United States disputed about for more than fifty years), and Spain, at the request of France, about the same time, another million. It seems probable, too, that many French noblemen, whose names were purposely concealed, embarked in what they considered a profitable speculation by contributing to the capital of Hortalez & Co. Whether that house bought the powder, as Beaumarchais had proposed to the King, from the royal dépôts at from four to six *sols* a pound and sold it to the Americans at twenty *sols*, does not appear. If it did, and anything like such a profit was made on the other articles sent, it did not need a large money capital to conduct its business. The Americans, however, do not seem to have complained of the prices charged them for the articles sent, for the supplies were cheap to them at any cost.

The greatest difficulties arose in the shipment of these

articles. The French government did not molest the agents of Beaumarchais, but insisted, for its own safety, on the preservation of absolute secrecy. France was full of English spies, and every precaution was taken by the government to avoid any open infraction of its own law which prohibited the exportation of military supplies to America. The cannon, the arms, and the powder were taken from the royal arsenals in different parts of the kingdom, and thence conveyed to the various seaports for embarkation. Two or three times the vessels upon which they were laden were stopped on the complaint of the English Ambassador, but they all at last got to sea, and reached their destination safely. The chief obstacle to their departure was interposed by the vanity of Beaumarchais himself, which led him to forget that in an enterprise such as he was engaged in, involving, if it were discovered, the danger of a war between France and England, absolute secrecy was indispensable. But he never could resist the temptation of making himself notorious, whatever might be the risk. He went to Hâvre, ostensibly to urge the departure of his ships. While there, one of his comedies was played at the theatre of that town, and he did not hesitate to make his appearance in public on that occasion. The result was that the suspicions of the English spies were confirmed by his presence, and his imprudent conduct had wellnigh shipwrecked the whole enterprise.

The French government was so anxious to conceal its part in providing these supplies that it at first tried hard to mislead the American Commissioners in Paris themselves —Dr. Franklin, Mr. Deane, and Mr. Arthur Lee—as to the source from which they really came. When this was found impossible, the French Minister insisted that what was regarded as a state secret should not be communicated either to Congress or to its Secret Committee. The Commissioners very properly thought that, as they were the agents not of France, but of the United States, it was their duty to write confidentially to the Secret Committee, setting forth all the information they had on the subject. This letter

was written in October, 1777, but it was intercepted, and its duplicate did not reach the Secret Committee until the close of March, 1778. In it the Commissioners speak of "the assurances they have received that no repayment will ever be required from us for what has been already given us either in money or military stores." Meantime, and before the arrival of this letter, Congress had made, as has been already explained, a partial settlement with the agent of Beaumarchais, and had entered into a contract with him for further supplies. This contract, however, was never executed, our treaty of alliance with France of February, 1778, rendering any further concealment or dealing with third parties unnecessary.

Congress was much perplexed in deciding which of these stories was the true one, that of their Commissioners, who told them that no payment was expected for these supplies, because they were due to the generosity of the King, or that of the agent of Beaumarchais, supported by the direct testimony of one of those Commissioners, Mr. Deane, who asserted that he had bought the articles from the house of Roderigue Hortalez & Co., and that they were to be paid for by the government of the United States. They directed their Commissioners in Paris to make direct inquiry of the government to whom and for how much they were indebted. M. de Vergennes replied that the King had furnished *nothing*, that he had merely permitted Beaumarchais to withdraw from the arsenals certain arms and powder on condition that he would replace them, and that neither the King nor himself knew anything about the house of Hortalez & Co., or how far it could be depended upon to fulfill its contracts. This obvious diplomatic lie, one of a very long series, did not deceive Congress; but of course it was out of the question at that time to quarrel with France, and so it submitted.

Poor Silas Deane was made the scapegoat in this intrigue. He was ordered home from France, and a strong party in Congress accused him of having employed money given by the King as "*don gratuit*" to the United States as the basis

for his own private commercial speculations. Of course there was no ground for such an accusation, but the result was that he was very hardly treated at the time, and that he has never received since the full credit which was due to him for his agency in securing military equipments for our armies in the darkest days of the Revolution.

V.

Meanwhile, the examination of Beaumarchais' account went slowly on, it having at least been decided that he was the person to whom we were really indebted. While this matter was pending, the declaration of the French signers of the treaty of 1781 that three millions had been advanced to the Americans gratuitously, and the subsequent explanation that of this sum one million had been paid for our use on the tenth of June, 1776, confirmed the Treasury officials in their opinion that Beaumarchais had received this identical sum for our use, and had expended it in the purchase of supplies sent us, with the cost of which he, by his account, sought now to charge us. Under these circumstances they refused to settle his accounts finally until he should furnish some satisfactory explanation of the disposition of this million. Beaumarchais was in a most awkward position. He never forgot the peculiar danger to which he was liable as secret agent. If he did not tell the truth, he might lose his fortune; if he did, he ran great risk of losing his liberty, and possibly his life. So he equivocated. He insisted, of course, that he was suffering great wrong and injustice from the American government, and he protested that he had never received a penny from the King or any one else which was intended as a gift to us. He neither admitted nor denied that he had received the money which was the subject of dispute. His answer was not considered satisfactory. We claimed that as this million had been given to us we succeeded to all the rights which the donor had in it previous to the gift, among others the liability of the receiver to account for its use to us, especially as it was

claimed that in some secret and unexplained way it had been used for our benefit. The whole trouble, it should be borne in mind, arose from the statement of the French government itself in 1781 when, unprompted, it declared that it had given us three millions, whereas it was afterwards obliged to admit that two only had been paid to our Commissioners.

Thus matters stood until 1794, when a new light was thrown upon the subject. France by this time had become a Republic. Gouverneur Morris was the American Minister. By an adroit use of a little flattery he succeeded in inducing Buchot, then the French Minister of Foreign Relations, to institute a search among the archives of the Ministry for the receipt that was given to the French government on the tenth of June, 1776, for the "lost million," telling him in the high-flown language of the day (which no one knew better how to assume than Morris) that "mysteries serve too often no other purpose than to hide dilapidations of which the people are victims," and saying that this receipt was needed by the United States to settle their accounts with Beaumarchais. The following receipt was shortly afterwards produced by the Minister, and a copy was given to Mr. Morris:

"1776.

"I have received from Monsieur du Vergier, agreeably to the orders transmitted to him by Monsieur the Count of Vergennes, dated the 5th current, the sum of one million, for which I will account to the Count de Vergennes.

"CARON DE BEAUMARCHAIS.

"PARIS, June 10, 1776.

"Good for one million of *livres tournois*."

This receipt, of course, removed the last doubt as to the person to whom the money was paid, and it did much to confirm our government in the opinion that its theory of the purpose for which it had been used was the correct one.

Beaumarchais died in 1799, after enduring hardships and suffering of all kinds, perhaps quite as great as those under-

gone by any man who escaped the guillotine during the Reign of Terror. The next year the French government took up his claim and urged its payment. Talleyrand was Foreign Minister at that time, and he was under peculiar obligations to Beaumarchais. To explain this it is necessary to recall the disgraceful proceedings of the French Directory in 1796, when the Commissioners whom we had sent to negotiate a treaty with France were given plainly to understand by the members of the Directory that no treaty could be concluded unless they were paid fifty thousand pounds, or twelve thousand five hundred pounds to each one of them. Talleyrand was a member of the Directory, and our Commissioners of course refused to pay a farthing for any such purpose. Beaumarchais, who seems always to have hovered around men in power, and whose moral sense was so obtuse that he could not understand the scruples of the Commissioners, believed, or affected to believe, that the real obstacle to offering this bribe was a want of ready money. In order, therefore, to accommodate Talleyrand, as well as to get some ready money for himself, of which at that time he was sorely in need, he proposed that if the State of Virginia, against whom he had a claim for one hundred and forty-five thousand pounds, would pay him without delay, he would set apart fifty thousand pounds, part of that sum, for the purpose of bribing the Directors to conclude the treaty. This attempted intervention of Beaumarchais, by which he hoped to be of service to the United States, to fill his own pockets, and to provide a handsome douceur for his friend Talleyrand all at one stroke, did not make, when it became known ere, an impression very favorable to the honesty of his methods of doing business.

Under these circumstances Talleyrand instructed M. Pichon, the French Minister here, to urge, in 1801, the payment of the claim of Beaumarchais in the name of the French government. He took the singular ground that there was a distinction to be made between a political agent and a commercial agent, and that the "lost million" had been paid to Beaumarchais in his former capacity only.

This sort of reasoning, as we may suppose, produced little or no effect. It was followed up in 1806 by the new Minister, General Turreau, in a series of elaborate despatches, which were much more to the purpose, and carried conviction to the minds of many. He relied upon four new grounds to support his position, and made an effort to meet more particularly the objections which had been made to the claim. He insisted, 1st, that the money had been given to Beaumarchais by the King for a secret political purpose, and that this purpose was a *mystère de cabinet*, which the King did not think proper to reveal; 2dly, that Beaumarchais had promised to account to the King alone for the use he had made of the money; 3dly, that, consequently, he was not only under no obligations to account to the United States, but was forbidden by his position as secret agent to do so; and, 4thly, that the money paid June 10, 1776, had never been expended in the purchase of military supplies, but for another purpose (which was kept secret), of benefit to us. The subject during these years, and for many years thereafter, was referred to different Committees of Congress, and while their opinions, as has been stated, differed, their reports are all marked with wonderful fairness and a spirit of international comity. They all, without exception, recognize the delicacy of the position in which the French government claimed to have been placed, and acknowledge the force of its declaration that it could not disclose the truth without compromising the honor of the King.

So earnest was the desire of our government to pay to Beaumarchais' heirs any sum which it could be proved we really owed him, that in 1816 Mr. Gallatin, then our Minister to France, wrote to the Duc de Richelieu, the French Foreign Minister, that if his government would give us a formal assurance that the money in question was not paid nor used for the purchase of military supplies for us, such an assurance would doubtless dispose Congress favorably towards the payment of his claim. The Duke replied to Mr. Gallatin, "I am warranted, sir, after a fresh examination of the facts, in persisting in the declarations above stated" (that

is, the previous declarations of the French government as to the disposal of the "lost million"), "and in considering as a matter of certainty that the million paid on the tenth of June was *not applied* to the purchase of the shipments made to the United States at that period by M. de Beaumarchais." Fortified by this letter, M. Hyde de Neuville, the Minister here, returned once more to an appeal to Congress, and although he was supported by the reports of two Committees, one in 1823 and the other in 1828, recommending the payment of the claim principally upon the ground of the faith which ought to be given to the French declaration, there was always found an invincible repugnance on the part of the majority of Congress to vote money for that purpose. At last, in 1835, this long dispute came to an end as far as Congress was concerned. In that year the French government paid us the five million of dollars which by the treaty of 1831 it had agreed to pay for spoliations of our commerce subsequent to the year 1800. Out of this fund the heirs of Beaumarchais were paid, they agreeing to abandon their demand of one million livres, receiving eight hundred thousand francs in payment of other claims which we had never disputed, and we were thereupon released from all further obligation to them.

VI.

Thus the matter rested until the year 1856, when M. de Loménie published his work "Beaumarchais et son Temps." In the mean time we were forced to rest under the imputation, not only in the judgment of foreign powers, but also in that of many of our own countrymen, of having refused to pay a large portion of a debt contracted by us in the purchase of the military supplies by which we were enabled to achieve our independence. M. de Loménie tells us that he had the full co-operation of the family of Beaumarchais in preparing his work. He relates how he was taken by one of them to an old house in *Rue de Pas du Mule*, where the vast mass of papers left by Beaumarchais were gathered. They filled, he says, a number of rooms, were covered with

dust, and were piled together in great confusion. They had apparently not been disturbed, or at least had not been examined, during the fifty years which had elapsed since Beaumarchais' death. With no small difficulty he classified and arranged these scattered papers, and he then found that he had abundant material, much of which was entirely new, to enable him to tell the truth about the many stormy episodes in the life of his hero.

Confining ourselves to that portion of these papers which referred to the relations of Beaumarchais with the United States during the Revolution, we find that he discovered in them abundant evidence to prove that the disputed or "lost million," the source and history of which we have been endeavoring to trace, was actually paid by the French government to Beaumarchais on the 10th June, 1776, that it was intended by that government solely as the basis of a *subvention* to enable Beaumarchais to purchase supplies and forward them to us, and that it was actually so employed. In this transaction there never was and never was intended to be the slightest *mystère de cabinet*, nor any suggestion that the money was to be used, as the French government had so long maintained in its dispute with us, for any other "secret political purpose" than the purchase of arms and military equipments for our use. In the negotiations with Beaumarchais secrecy of course had been enjoined, but its only motive was stated to be a fear lest the obligations of French neutrality might be compromised in case the supply and shipment of these arms should be discovered. The French government said to Beaumarchais, "We give you secretly a million. We will endeavor to procure from the Court of Spain another million for the same purpose. With these two millions, and the co-operation of private persons who may wish to become partners in your enterprise, you will establish a commercial house, and at your own risk you will furnish the United States with arms, munitions of war, clothing, and all other objects which may be necessary to carry on the war. In a word, it is necessary that the business secretly founded (*subventionée*) by us should become

thereafter self-supporting." In point of fact it would seem that this "lost million" was the only direct subsidy or subvention which Beaumarchais ever received from the French treasury in money during the year 1776 for the support of his operations in America. He had, of course, by its order peculiar privileges and peculiar opportunities for making large profits, as we have explained, since he was permitted to withdraw a large amount of the supplies from the royal arsenals.

Beaumarchais received on the eleventh of August, 1776, from the Court of Spain the other million promised by De Vergennes. It reached the French treasury in a very roundabout way, in order to conceal from the English government all traces from whence it came or whither it went. If any other proof is needed of the origin and disposition of this million, it is found in two letters, one from M. de Vergennes, the other from the King. In the first, dated May 2, 1776, the Minister writes to the King, "*Sire, j'ai l'honneur de mettre aux pieds de votre Majesté la feuille qui doit m'autoriser à fournir un million de livres pour le service des colonies anglaises,*"[1] etc. The other is from the King of France to the King of Spain, dated January 8, 1778. After speaking of the liberty which had been given both to the English and to their rebellious Colonies to trade with France, notwithstanding the war, the King says, "*De cette manière l'Amérique s'est pourvue d'armes et de munitions dont elle manquait; je ne parle pas des secours d'argent, et autres que nous leur avons donnés, le tout étant passé sur le compte de commerce,*"[2] etc.

In all these accounts of the transactions of Beaumarchais with the French government there is not, as I have said, the slightest hint that the money paid him on the tenth of June, 1776, was ever used for any other purpose than that contended for by the majority of the American Congress, viz., the purchase of military stores for us. It follows as a matter of course that both Beaumarchais and the French government must always have been fully aware that such

[1] De Flassan, Histoire de la Diplomatie française. [2] Ibid.

was the true state of the case, and that Beaumarchais had actually been paid by France the very money which he claimed from us. It is difficult to refrain from characterizing as it deserves the conduct of the French government in this business, while it had in its possession the best evidence that the claim it was urging upon us was unfounded. The attempt on its part to show after the discovery of 1794 that although the money had really been paid to Beaumarchais, yet it was not proper to give us any account of its disposal because it was *secret du roi*, and that the money had been used for some other "secret political purpose" for our benefit, and, further, that the motive for such a disposal could not be inquired into, because it was *mystère de cabinet*, —all these were diplomatic subterfuges, or, to speak more plainly, absolute falsehoods.

If we had not discovered by accident that France had ostentatiously declared in 1781 that it had given us three millions instead of the two which we had actually received, and had not been thus set upon inquiry, doubtless this fraud of Beaumarchais', aided by his government, would have been successful. This boastful blunder in the treaty of 1781 came back to plague its inventors many times during the succeeding half-century. It certainly gave rise to more diplomatic falsehood and deception than any international question we have ever had to discuss. From the beginning to the end the conduct of the French government seems uncandid and disingenuous to the last degree. When M. Grand, the banker of the American government in Paris, at its suggestion, asked M. de Vergennes to whom the money had been paid, the Minister, it will be remembered, refused to give his name. The reason now appears for the first time in this book of M. de Loménie. In the confidential correspondence between the Minister and the chief of the money department of the foreign office now brought to light, it seems that the name of Beaumarchais was not given up lest the disclosure might prejudice him in the settlement of his accounts with the United States, both he and the French Minister being then perfectly aware that one item of that

account was a charge against the United States of a million which had already been paid him by France. The truth is, sad to say, that the attempt to extort this money from us was based throughout all these long negotiations upon false pretences. When the question, in 1816, seemed to be narrowed down to one point, viz., whether France would explicitly declare that the said million was not applied to the purchase of the supplies furnished by M. de Beaumarchais to the United States, and the Duc de Richelieu, then Foreign Minister, declared positively that the said million was *not* so applied, the Minister was treading in the footsteps of his predecessors, and making, like all of them, false statements. As M. de Loménie says, "*Cela n'était exact, qu'officiellement,*" leaving us to imagine what language could be employed to make a denial more general or positive.

It must not be forgotten that a good deal of the distrust felt by public men in this country of the declarations of the French government was created by the experience they had already had in their dealings with the agents of his Christian Majesty. Thus, Dr. Franklin relates in one of his letters that at an interview which was held in 1782 between M. de Vergennes and Mr. Grenville (at which he was present) in which the basis for negotiations for peace was discussed, Mr. Grenville, in the course of conversation, remarked "that the war had been provoked by the encouragement given by France to the Americans to revolt. Whereupon the French Minister grew warm, and declared that the breach was made and independence declared by the Americans *long before* they received the least encouragement from France, and he defied the world to prove it." (See Pitkin's History of the United States, vol. i. p. 421.) And all this, be it remembered, in the presence of Franklin, who had himself, as Commissioner, received two millions of this same secret service money, the existence of which was so strenuously denied by the Minister. We may imagine the "calm and serene sage" keeping silence, but probably thinking, as John Adams did on a similar occasion, "that human nature was curiously constituted."

Our government, therefore, notwithstanding the many reasons we had to be grateful for the assistance which was sent to us from France, and our anxious desire to pay honestly for all that had been received, was often perplexed by the tortuous policy pursued by that power, and at a loss what course to take. At one time, 1778, we were told that the French government had furnished nothing, and that Beaumarchais alone was to be paid for the supplies; at another, 1781, that government informs us that it makes us a present, to the extent of one million, of the supplies which it had previously told us that it did not furnish. No wonder that we looked upon all the representations which came from France on this subject as tainted with suspicion. And the subsequent developments seem to me to show that we were quite right in doing so.

But it will be asked, How could the French government, with a full knowledge of all the circumstances which have been related, urge with such persistence upon the American government the payment of a million which had been previously paid by itself? M. de Loménie, who evidently thinks that Beaumarchais was very harshly treated by the United States, but whose book furnishes the best evidence which has yet appeared why he should not have been paid, persists in maintaining that, notwithstanding all this, Beaumarchais was a genuine creditor of this country. He arrives at this conclusion in the following way. He insists, first, that Beaumarchais when he signed the receipt of June 10, 1776, promised only to account to the King, and not to us; and, secondly, that as Beaumarchais had been a great loser in his dealings with us, we should pay him for his losses.

In regard to the first point, it is probably true that he did account to the King satisfactorily for the use and disposal of the million, for the Treasury order in regard to the reimbursement of the funds paid to Beaumarchais has been produced, and it is marked in the royal handwriting with the word "*Bon*," that, it seems, being the method adopted by the King to express his approval of secret disbursements of money. But certainly it is manifest that, although this

proceeding may have settled the account between the French government and Beaumarchais, it could in no way affect his claim upon us, or our liability to him. It is a universal but very elementary principle of law that when a man is intrusted with money by one person for the use and benefit of another, he owes a double duty. He must account not only to the giver but to the receiver also. This is put in a very clear light by Mr. Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury, in a letter dated January 27, 1806, to the Chairman of the Committee on Claims. He says,—

"It is evident that if he was rightfully charged by the United States with the sum in question, it is to them and not to the French government that he is accountable. The solemn declaration that that million was a gratuitous gift to the United States seems inconsistent with the supposition that it was not applied as an *aid and subsidy*, but given without their consent and knowledge to an individual responsible for the application, *not to the government who had received but to that who gave the subsidy.* And that answer, so far as relates to the French government, appears conclusive."

In regard to the second point, M. de Loménie does not seem to stand upon any firmer ground when he argues that we should have allowed the payment of the million, because Beaumarchais had suffered great losses in his dealings with us, and therefore we should have reimbursed him for those losses. At the close of the war it is said that he had become very poor through zeal in our service, and that it would have been a graceful and a generous act on our part had we not permitted him to suffer. As to his poverty, we may say that this book of M. de Loménie furnishes the best evidence that he was no poorer at the close of the American war than he had been at the beginning. A statement is given of his accounts, from which it appears that in 1783 he was worth at least forty-eight thousand francs more than he was in 1776, the difference of course being due to his dealings with us. But his poverty or even his losses have nothing whatever to do with the rightfulness of the particular

claim he made upon us. If, indeed, his zeal or his generosity in our service had led him so far as to involve serious losses on his part, although the whole affair was a mere commercial speculation with its inevitable risks, no one who knows the American people or their history can doubt that a claim upon us based upon such grounds would have received a favorable consideration. But Beaumarchais made no such claim, and he attempted to do what any vulgar adventurer might have done. He simply overcharged us, trusting that he would not be discovered. He made no appeal *ad misericordiam* even when reduced to the extremest poverty in Hamburg in 1794, but insisted that his claim was *strictissimi juris*, and, as such, ought to be paid in full at once.

The author of his life tells us that he was compensated for his losses in the French service, and therefore should have been treated in the same way by us. He refers especially to the injury which was done to one of his armed vessels while convoying a large number of ships (either belonging to him or laden with his cargoes), in an engagement with the English fleet, under Admiral Byron, off the island of Grenada in 1779. It seems that his ship, *Le fier Roderique*, with its convoy, was cruising off this island on the eve of the battle, and that the French admiral D'Estaing insisted that it should take part in the fight. The result was that *Le fier Roderique* was much injured, her captain killed, the convoy dispersed, and some of the vessels captured. For his losses the French government paid him in 1784–1786 two millions of francs. But is there anything in his services to us resembling this? and can we doubt that if there had been, and a claim for reimbursement and indemnity had been made, it would have been cheerfully paid, although we had not, as the French government under the Bourbons always had, the ever-present consciousness that while it was dealing with an ordinary merchant, like Beaumarchais, the man who would enforce his claim in case of need was the author of the "*Mariage de Figaro*"? Possibly the remembrance of the power that personage had shown

in his conflict with the *Parlement Maupeou*, and the fear of what he might be able to do with a feeble ministry if tempted, were not without their influence in determining M. de Vergennes to support him in maintaining a claim which none better than he knew was without any foundation in right or justice.

From the account we have given of the manner in which military supplies were furnished us by the French government, and by its agent Beaumarchais, we can gain some idea of the nature and extent of the aid and succor which we received from them both during the Revolution. From France we received three millions of livres (including in it the disputed million paid to Beaumarchais for our use) previous to the treaty of 1778, and six millions of livres in 1781, in all nine millions of livres, or about one million eight hundred thousand dollars, and from Beaumarchais supplies valued at about five millions of livres, all of which (except those for which he wrongfully charged us one million) were duly paid for. We cannot too often express our opinion that this French aid was of inestimable value to us during the war, and we can never be too thankful for it. But in our thankfulness we must not forget that this succor was in no sense disinterested, either on the part of France or that of Beaumarchais. There is a common impression in France, and perhaps to a certain extent in this country, that we owed the possibility of maintaining our independence to French intervention and succor. In a certain sense this may be true, but in considering the action of France we may ask, What material advantages did she gain by spending less than two millions of dollars and declaring war against England, as methods of helping us? We must remember that her interest in our quarrel was solely the opportunity it gave her of humiliating her hereditary enemy, of reconquering the *prestige* which she had lost as a military power by the treaty of 1763, and especially for securing for herself the benefit of that commerce from which she was excluded as long as we were English colonies. In each of

these cherished hopes France was signally successful. The terrible humiliations of national pride from which she had suffered by the provisions of the treaty of 1763, owing to the loss of her possessions in the East and West Indies and of Canada, were amply avenged when, in 1783, the brightest jewel in the British Crown—the American Colonies—was rudely torn from it. At that time it was the universal opinion both in England and France, and indeed it was openly proclaimed in the House of Commons, that the sun of England's glory had set forever, and France rejoiced over her downfall with a savage joy which knew no bounds. But while her revenge was gratified by the recognition on the part of England of the independence of the United States, vast substantial advantages soon accrued to her. Her power, her influence, and her wealth were all enormously increased by our independence. With the birth of the United States as a nation a new continent was opened to French commercial enterprise. What that commerce may have been worth to her during the century which she has freely enjoyed it cannot be told here, but no one can doubt that it was cheaply purchased by the payment of less than two millions of dollars and a war of five years against our common enemy.

It is possible, therefore, to overrate the disinterestedness of France in regard to the succors furnished by her during the Revolution. There was (and let it never be forgotten) but one disinterested Frenchman who served us during that war, and that was the Marquis de Lafayette. He made the American cause his own, because he believed it to be that of liberty and human rights. He fought for us not because he hated England as an enemy to France, but because he was moved by the same principle which governed Washington and his companions. He alone, of all the foreigners in our army, clamored for no recognition of his services, and asked for no pay. The conduct of Lafayette had many admirers among his countrymen, but no imitators.

WILLIAM PENN

And the Society of Friends at Reading.

BY MRS. M. A. FABER, READING, BERKSHIRE, ENGLAND.

Any one who has been up-stairs to the New Book Rooms at "Lovejoy's" Library, Reading, within the last two months, will have seen on the wall on the left side of the staircase a handsome bronze tablet, which has been placed there by Miss E. Langley, the proprietress of the library, and which bears this inscription:

WILLIAM PENN
(Founder of Pennsylvania)
Worshipped here
1711—1715.

The library was, in fact, once the meeting-house of the Friends; and within the walls where our silent friends are now ranged the silent Society once held its meetings. Parts of the old walls and rafters are, indeed, encased in those of the present building. There are some interesting incidents connected with this old meeting-house, which was the refuge of the Quakers in 1685, when persecuted by some unworthy members of their own Society; for not even their strict rule in externals nor the spirituality of their religion could serve to annihilate all unchristian tempers among their members.

The only meeting-house of the Friends had, up to this time, been in Sun Lane, a part of Reading which has disappeared before later improvements. In old times King Street was divided by a row of houses running up the centre, forming a narrow street on each side, one of which was called Sun Lane and the other Back Lane. This row of houses was removed in the reign of George II., and the whole space included in King Street.

The record of the Friends who were dispossessed and driven from Sun Lane, and who took refuge in London Street, is very interesting, and begins with the following quaint heading:

"A BOOKE

ffor the recording the Proceedings of y• Monthly Men's Meetings of us y• People of God called Quakers in y• Towne of Reading In y• County of Berks Beginning to be thus Recorded this Twentie Sixt day of ye ffirst Month one Thousand Six hundred Eighty and five."

The preamble goes on thus (we drop the old spelling): "Not but what there was a monthly book for many years before which Benjamin C—— did keep and did record the proceedings of those meetings. But for some years last past the said B. C. with several others which had the sway in those meetings have taken part with that spirit of opposition and division which first appeared openly in John S—— and John W—— and their party in the work against orderly proceedings for Monthly and Quarterly Men's Meetings and other things too large here to mention." After a long setting forth of their grievances they wind up with this pious wish: "The Lord grant that those that do not go on knowingly in a wilful, obstinate and perverse mind and spirit may come to see where they are and what they have been doing against the truth, and may return to the Lord and to their first love and tenderness in the truth, saith those that are concerned in giving this relation."

But before the relation begins, a vision or revelation of George Fox concerning John S—— and John W—— (two of the malcontents) is inserted, together with a copy of a letter from him in which he condemns the doings of the disaffected and comforts the grieved and tried Friends.

He must long have had an inkling of what was going on, for in the latter part of 1677 he mentions in his Journal that he had paid a visit to Reading, "where," he says, "I was at Friends' Meeting on First-day and in the evening

had a large meeting with Friends, next day there being another meeting about holding a Women's Meeting, some of them that had let in the spirit of division fell into jangling and were disorderly for a while, till the weight of truth brought them down."[1]

Reading was not, however, the only place in which the Women's Meetings were unacceptable, for in 1673 George Fox had paid a visit to Slattenford in Wilts, "where," he says, "we met with much opposition from some who had set themselves against Women's Meetings which I was moved of the Lord to recommend to Friends for the benefit and advantage of the Church of Christ."[2]

The first grand difference among the Reading Friends in Sun Lane began in August, 1681, when the Friends in whose charge the key of the meeting-house was, refused to give it up for the women to hold their meeting. The next step seems to have been an attempt to interfere with the evening meetings by breaking up the morning meeting into two, ending the first in the middle of the day, and having the second at four o'clock in the afternoon. It was represented that this afternoon meeting would interfere with the evening meeting, but the disaffected party merely remarked, "We take no notice of the evening meeting."

The disputing still went on about one thing and another; but it is evident that, whatever the cause of the disagreement at the moment, the Women's Meetings were the real reason of the uncomfortable feeling; and in August, 1684, the opposition took a more aggressive form. The malcontents, assembling before the usual hour, let themselves into the public meeting-room, where the women were to have had their meeting, and spread themselves almost all over the room, so that the Friends were obliged to hold their meeting at a house belonging to a woman named Ann Truss, being virtually shut out of the Sun Lane meeting-house.

Time, instead of healing the breach, widened it, and the

[1] George Fox's "Journal," Vol. II. p. 269. [2] Ibid., p. 186.

disaffected party grew more and more aggressive. About the middle of 1685 the recorder of the Friends' proceedings enters "a relation of some of the words and doings of those former oppressors that have now separated themselves from Friends and shut them out of their meeting-house and exposed them to the cold snow and rain, &c."

An apparent attempt at reconciliation only made things worse, and ended in a threat to fasten up the doors on the morrow unless something was arranged. This brought a demand from each side that all that had been written and printed against its adherents should be destroyed. John Buy, in the name of the expelled Friends, positively refused to agree to this, and the breach was as wide as ever. Those in possession of the key had, of course, the vantage-ground, and were as good as their word about closing the doors. Not only this, but they stationed men at them and at the entrance to the lane, so that no one could approach the meeting-house. Discussions and letters followed, and in April, 1686, "an answer to the paper that Thomas C—— and Benjamin C—— (sent) as reasons for their shutting the meeting-house door was read at this meeting and agreed upon to be printed."

Whether any copies of this pamphlet are still in existence among the Friends in Reading we do not know.

The expelled Friends appear to have shown a considerable amount of forbearance; for after all this, when they found that the Sun Lane party were in money difficulties about the rent of the meeting-house, they generously came forward with an offer to give "the moneys proportionable to the time to come or unexpired of the lease, which aforesaid moneys shall be deposited by us upon the surrender or legal conveyance of the lease."

This offer was the repetition of a similar one made before, and was caused by false reports having been set about by the disaffected party to the effect that no such offer had been made. However, no good came of it; for there is a quaint remark, made in January, 1684, that "since the last meeting the opposition folks that shut Friends out of the

meeting-house have made a wall with bricks before the door; for having stopped up the witness in themselves, they would fain stop it up without, for the door was a witness against them." It was, certainly, a strong measure, and one which rather reminds us of the proverbial dog in the manger.

Things went on in this uncomfortable way for another four months, and then the expelled Friends deemed it time to look about in earnest for a meeting-house for themselves. After various disappointments and difficulties, John Buy announced that a fitting place had been found, and he and three others were appointed to see about taking it and fitting it up. The key was left at his house, that any one might see it who wished, and the choice seems to have given satisfaction. This meeting-house is described as being on the east side of London Street, up a court, behind a tenement in the occupation of John Jones, a schoolmaster. The description tallies in every way with that of the new rooms at Lovejoy's Library, and the late Mr. Lovejoy used to speak of a tradition to the effect that the Reading Friends had a meeting-house in a part of his premises.

The agreement between John Buy (who had taken the lease of the new meeting-house) and the Friends is recorded among the proceedings of the Monthly Meeting in April, 1692, together with the names of those who subscribed to reimburse him for the necessary expenses connected with it; and the copy of the agreement is signed by John Buy and three witnesses. Probably both the Lease and the Copy of the Agreement are still preserved somewhere, but this cannot be said positively. At this April meeting it was agreed that on the coming First-day notice should be given to Friends for meeting in the new meeting-house on the First-day following; so that they must have taken full possession of the London Street meeting-house in the spring of 1692, and have worshipped here for nearly a quarter of a century.

A copy of the Friends' Certificate from the Borough of Reading is given in the Monthly book. It is as follows:

A Copy of the Quarter Sessions Certificate of their Toleration of our Meeting-house.

Burgus de Reading in Com. Berks. } ss.

"These are to Certifye whom it may concern that at the Generall Quarter Sessions of the Peace in and for the said Burrough holden at the Guildhall there on ffryday the fifteenth day of July in the fourth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord and Lady King William & Queen Mary over England &c. before Richard Lambden gov. Maior of the said Burrough & one of their said Majesties Justices of the Peace there & John Blake & John Thorne y• Elder gent: & others their fellowes Justices of y• peace of our said Sovereign Lord and Lady King William and Queen Mary the house in the Court or back-side behind a messuage or Tenement on the East side of London Street in the said Burrough now in the occupation of John Jones Schoolmaster is Registered for a Meeting house for the people called Quakers amongst the Records of the said Sessions according to the form of the Statute in that case made & provided in the first year of their now Majesties Reign.

"Wm. Tesser, 15 July, 1692.

"Ric: Grover, Clirus parg ibon.

"The originall remains in John Buy's hands."

There is another interesting entry in December, 1694, when it was agreed that "these words underwritten should be inserted in George Fox's Journal," which had been presented to the Friends.

"This Journall of George ffox his gift to meeting Houses of ffriends the people called Quakers. And this was ordered for the Meeting House in London Street in Reading Boorkes 1694."

"At this Meeting y• forementioned Jornall was lent to Josiah Chesterman for one month."

This is the first notice of any book having been lent. Various others were presented to the Friends till a little library was formed, and there are frequent entries of loans and returns of books. It is curious that this should have begun in the very rooms now filled with the books of the largest provincial lending library in England.

At the Monthly Meeting on December 22, 1708, we note the first appearance of William Penn. This was about the time of his troubles relative to the Province of Pennsylvania, of his embarrassments through the dishonesty of his steward, and of other griefs. Some of his difficulties having been removed, "he travelled as a minister of the Gospel to the West of England, and visited also in the same capacity the counties of Berks, Buckingham, and Surry and other places."[1] He must have been living at Brentford at this time, and probably his presence at this December meeting, and again at the meeting in January, 1709, may have arisen from his thinking of settling in the neighborhood; for in 1710 he took a "large, quaint house opposite the church at Field Ruscombe, close to Twyford, on the Reading Road,"[2] where, to quote from Murray's Handbook for Berks:

'The Lodden slow, with verdant alders crowned,'

occupies two principal channels, both here fordable, which gave the name to Twyford, and about two miles below 'the fair Lodona' falls into the Thames."

Meanwhile, the Friends were desirous of having a meeting-house which should be their own property, and began to stir in the matter in 1709, authorizing John Buy and William Lawrence to inspect a place which was thought suitable. But it could not be had, and the price of another eligible site which presented itself was considered too extravagant. Indeed, there seems to have been great difficulty in obtaining what was in every way desirable; for at the end of 1712, three years after the first inquiries, a note is made that John Buy, junior, on behalf of his father, brought in an account of money he had paid for the rent of the London Street meeting-house, together with a note of what he had received towards it from Friends, and also what he had received for rent of the granaries which formed part of their premises in the court.

William Penn was again present at the June Monthly

[1] Clarkson, Vol. II. p. 301.
[2] Dr. Stoughton's "William Penn," p. 339.

Meeting in 1710, at which time he was doubtless settled in his house at Ruscombe, for after this date his name appears frequently at the Friends' meetings. It must have been gratifying to the London Street Friends that he should thus identify himself with them, instead of with the Sun Lane party, and is a convincing proof that he agreed with them on the questions which had caused the breach.

Whether because party spirit ran less high as time went on, or that younger members had joined who were on the side of unity, or for some other reasons, the Sun Lane party made an advance in 1713 towards reconciliation by sending a request to the London Street Friends to aid them in keeping the burying-ground in order, and two of the London Street Friends were deputed at the Monthly Meeting in August "to inspect the house at the burying-ground in order to repair it, in condescension to the request of the other meeting on this occasion." This seems to have led to further advances, for, in the following October, Daniel Bullock was "desired to speak with William Soundy in order to know the full contents of his proposals to our Meeting on their Meeting's behalf, and if he can, to bring it in writing." The request was at once complied with, and the following letters were exchanged, William Soundy writing, on behalf of the Sun Lane party, thus:

"Friends of the Monthly Meeting in Sun Lane in Reading to the Friends of London Street Meeting sendeth greeting—

"Whereas we have made an offer of reconciliation between the Meetings and in order thereto we desire that all things relating to former differences be laid aside on all hands, and for time to come not to judge one another any more for not practising things wherein we have not faith, nor condemning others for practising what they believe, is their duty, and all press after purity and holiness and stand as faithful witnesses for God against the contrary wherever it appears; and if any shall give occasion whereby the Lord's truth may be evil spoken of, then such to be proceeded against according to the Gospel order, that peace may be preserved in the Church of Christ.

"Signed on their behalf by WM. SOUNDY.

"ye 29th 10th mo: 1713."

The reply from the London Street Friends follows:

"Friends, We received your paper of proposals for our meeting together again and have considered the contents thereof, and by these lines give you to understand that we are in a likelihood to have a new Meeting-house on a piece of free land which we hope in good time will be accomplished: we shall be well pleased to see you come and sit down with us in that frame of mind and temper of spirit that we might be a comfort and help to each other and therein may receive a blessing from the Lord; but as for such that hold their old resentments concerning us and our faithful friends, as Charles H—— and Zachary K—— or such like that have rendered us and our faithful friends Apostates, Innovators, Incliners to Popery, &c., or continue opposing friends in their good and wholesome discipline established among us, we cannot join with such as Ministers of Christ or members of His Church—for whilst those old resentments are held at bottom, it cannot be reasonable to think we can have a comfortable meeting together in a religious society.

"Signed by order and on behalf of the meeting aforesaid by } JOHN BUY.

"From our Mo: meeting the 30th 1 mo: 1714."

Although William Penn's name is not entered among those present at this January meeting in 1714, it cannot be doubted that he was made aware of the proposals for reconciliation from the Sun Lane party and of their acceptance by the London Street Friends; and amid all his own trials the prospect of union among the members of the Society must have come to him as a gleam of gladness.

The piece of free land spoken of by the Friends was the site of the present meeting-house in Church Street. William Lawrence was empowered to negotiate for "Thomas Curtis' late houses and lands in Church lane then upon sale." The purchase was effected by him, and all particulars of it given at the meeting on February 27, 1714; and at a supplementary meeting, three days afterwards, four members of the Society were "desired and appointed to provide materials for building the said meeting-house as soon as opportunity offers." Penn interested himself in the

arrangements of the new building, for he was present at the January meeting in 1715, when certain Friends were "appointed to make the Gallery lower and raise the benches round the Meeting-house according to their discretion and inspect into those things that are needful to be regulated as to the other parts of the said Meeting House, as the windows, wainscot, &c."

But his health was rapidly declining, and the Monthly Meeting in June seems to have been the last he attended. After that his name appears no more among those present.

Two interesting records remain of his visits to Reading. An intimate friend writes of having paid a visit to him in 1714, and of going with him in his carriage to Reading Meeting. This was to the London Street Meeting. He gave a short exhortation to those present, and took leave of the Friends with much tenderness.

In 1715 his intimate friend, Thomas Story, visited him, and accompanied him to the meeting at Reading. He still often went to the First-day Meetings, and sometimes "uttered short but very savoury expressions."[1] This must have been after the reconciliation of the Sun Lane party and at the new meeting-house. It is much to be wished that some fuller report of these last utterances of this remarkable man were in existence; but it is not difficult to believe that, like the venerable Apostle and Evangelist St. John, he urged all who heard him, above all things, to "love one another."

William Penn died at Ruscombe in May, 1718, and "was interred in the burial ground of Jourdan's Meeting House, midway between Beaconsfield and Chalfont St. Giles. 'It stands upon rather high ground, but its site is in a dell surrounded by meadows and brushwood.' There the founder of Pennsylvania sleeps in the same grave with his wife Hannah, who survived him till the year 1726, and next to that of his first love, Guglielma Maria. Letitia and Springett, her children, rest just behind their father and mother."[2]

[1] Clarkson, Vol. II. p. 337.

[2] Dr. Stoughton's "Life of William Penn," p. 355.

The Reading Friends record their testimony to this great, good man thus:

"He was a man of great abilities, of an excellent sweetness of disposition, quick of thought and ready utterance, full of the qualification of true discipleship, even love without dissimulation; as extensive in charity as comprehensive in knowledge, and to whom malice or ingratitude were utter strangers; so ready to forgive enemies that the ungrateful were not excepted. Had not the management of his temporal affairs been attended with some difficulties, envy itself would be to seek for matter of accusation; and yet in charity even that part of his conduct may be ascribed to a peculiar sublimity of mind. Notwithstanding which he may, without straining his character, be ranked among the learned, good, and great, whose abilities are sufficiently manifested throughout his elaborate writings, which are so many lasting monuments of his admired qualifications, and are the esteem of learned and judicious men among all persuasions. And though in old age, by reason of some shocks of a violent distemper, his intellects were much impaired, yet his sweetness and loving disposition surmounted its utmost efforts, and remained when reason almost failed. In fine he was learned without vanity, facetious in conversation, yet weighty and serious; apt without forwardness, of an extraordinary greatness of mind, yet void of the stain of ambition; as free from rigid gravity as he was clear of unseemly levity; a man, a scholar, a friend, a minister surpassing in superlative endowments, whose memorial will be valued by the wise, and blessed with the just.

"Signed by order of the Monthly Meeting held at Reading aforesaid, by

"WILLIAM LAMBOLL, JUNR.

"7th of 2d month, 1719."

Dr. Stoughton, in his "Life of William Penn," gives a touching account of the testimonial sent by the Indians to Penn's widow. The message which came with it and the reply are so full of pathos that it is impossible to forbear to quote the entire narration. He says,—

"But a perfectly unique testimonial came from the painted Indians, who loved him while living, and mourned over him when dead. They sent the widow a message in figurative language, deploring the loss of their honoured brother Onas,

as they called him, and with it conveyed a present of beautiful skins for a cloak, as they said, 'to protect her while passing through the thorny wilderness *without her guide.*'

"With exquisite taste, Hannah Penn sent this acknowledgment through the hands of James Logan: 'I take very kindly the sympathy of all those that truly lament mine and that country's loss, which loss has brought a vast load of care, toil of mind, and sorrow upon me. . . . For my own part, I expect a wilderness of care—of briers and thorns transplanted here from thence. Whether I shall be able to explore my way, even with the help of my friends, I have great reason to question, notwithstanding the Indians' present, which I now want to put on—having the woods and wildernesses to travel through indeed.'"

She travelled on through the "woods and wildernesses" of this world for seven years after her honored husband's decease, and now sleeps with him in the meadow-bordered dale, not far from the cottage where Milton thought of "Paradise Regained."[1]

Hannah Penn seems to have been worthy of her honored husband, for as early as June, 1718, when she must have been suffering from all the keenness of her own great sorrow, an entry is made in the Friends' record of a subscription given by her for the benefit of John Dennis, a Friend, who had suffered by fire. It is curious that six years before, to the very month, a subscription is entered from William Penn towards a fund for a widow left in poor circumstances.

The Reading Friends have an interesting relic of the Penn family in their library,—the second volume of Penn's Works, with this inscription: "The Works of william Penn, volume ye 2d Given for ye Service of Poor Friends & cetera belonging to Jordan's Meetting by his Son John Penn att the burial of his Mother being ye place of ye Family's Sepulture. The 26 of ye 10th mo: 1726."

The Friends of Reading have now worshipped for more than a century and a half in what was then the New Meet-

[1] "Life of William Penn," p. 357.

ing-house, accessible, when they first took it, only on the Southampton Street side. They had some difficulty in getting the ground for the approach on the London Street side, but obtained it at last; and it must not be forgotten that Reading owes the convenient Church Street communication between London and Southampton Streets to the Society of Friends. It must have been to the corner of St. Giles's Church that William Penn's chariot brought him to worship, and the venerable old man must have walked somewhat toilsomely along the paved passage to the meeting-house. But far more often and less wearily he must have come up the narrow passage, now Sims's Court, to worship in the London Street Meeting-house and to edify the Friends with his wise and loving words. The late Mr. Lovejoy spoke many times of a tradition told to him, that at the London Street Meeting-house William Penn read to the Friends a copy of the treaty he made with the Indians when he purchased Pennsylvania. It is fitting that this should be the place in Reading where his memory is honored and preserved, and it must always, for his sake, be the spot in this ancient town most dear to the hearts of the Friends in both Reading and Pennsylvania.

COLONEL JAMES COULTAS,

HIGH SHERIFF OF PHILADELPHIA, 1755–1758.

BY ROBERT PATTERSON ROBINS, M.D.

One of the most enterprising and public-spirited citizens of Philadelphia during the half-century antecedent to the Revolution was James Coultas, who as a public official and a private citizen was always zealous for the prosperity of the country of his adoption. Born near Whitby, in Yorkshire, England, the son of Henry and Margaret (Chapman[1]) Coultas, he received his early education in England, but emigrated to America some time before the year 1735. Of his early life here we have but little information, but it is to be supposed that he was occupied in farming his plantation in Blockley, overseeing the Middle Ferry, and engaging in the private enterprises by which he amassed his considerable fortune. On Scull and Heap's map of Philadelphia (1750) he is mentioned as the owner of the large saw-mill near Cobb's Creek, north of the Bell Inn.[2] Coultas held the lease of the Middle Ferry from City Council from

[1] Margaret Chapman was daughter of William Chapman, of Whitby, Yorkshire, and Mary, his wife, daughter and heir of William Temple, Esq., grandson of Sir William Temple, Provost of Trinity College, Dublin. "The Chapman family," says Young, in his "History of Whitby," "resided at Whitby and in Yburn Dale prior to the year 1400, as appears from the registers and rolls of Whitby Abbey." Henry Coultas inherited a small estate in the neighborhood of Whitby. Margaret Coultas, daughter of Henry and Margaret (Chapman) Coultas, was the wife of Robert Ibbetson (of the family of Ibbetson of Denton Park, Yorkshire), a noted English Methodist, who was British Consul at Lisbon in 1766. Their only child, Martha, was the wife of George Gray, of Gray's Ferry. She inherited "Whitby Hall" from her uncle, James Coultas, and the estate is now the property of her great-grandson, William Harmar Thomas, Esq.

[2] Westcott's "History of Philadelphia" (Philadelphia Library edition) Vol. II. p. 284.

1744 until 1755, and in 1757 he is recorded as bringing a charge against Council of twelve pounds for ferriage in 1755 of Halket's and Dunbar's regiments.[1] In 1751 "the inhabitants of the country on the west side of the Schuylkill, being anxious that a bridge should be erected for their accommodation, took up subscriptions for the purpose of building one. They desired the approval of the Assembly, and asked that commissioners should be appointed to view the river, select the most suitable plan for a bridge, and make estimates of the expense. The House agreed to this request, and Israel Pemberton, Sr., Thomas Leech, Peter Dicks, Hugh Roberts, Edmund Wooley, Jacob Lewis, Caspar Wistar, Charles Norris, Samuel Rhodes, and Benjamin Franklin were appointed commissioners. They made return in August that they had "viewed the River Schuylkill, sounded the depths, and tried the bottom in various places, from Peters' Island, near the ford, down to John Bartram's, near the Ferry," and were of opinion that the best place was "near to the end of the Market Street, where Captain Coultas now keeps his ferry." They had considered various plans of bridges and estimated the expense of building; but not being prepared to report, they asked further time. This privilege was granted to them, but no further report was ever made, probably because the subscriptions were not sufficient. The Common Council had before it an application of Coultas for a renewal of his lease of the High Street Ferry. He had made very considerable improvements to the dwelling-house, barn, and sheds, the cost of which was estimated at nearly seven hundred and fifty pounds. The sum of six hundred and eighty pounds was allowed him for these extraordinary expenses, and his lease was extended seven years.[2]

[1] *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. II. p. 156.

[2] Westcott's "History of Philadelphia" (Philadelphia Library edition), Vol. IV. p. 289.

In the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of March 18, 1756, is the following:

To be LETT.

A Plantation in Blockley township, containing 300 acres of land, of

In 1748, Coultas was one of the captains of the Associators,[1] a battery company; and in 1756, when the incursions of the Indians were startling the inhabitants into preparations for defence, he was active in the movement to strengthen the military force of the Province. In February of that year he was chosen lieutenant-colonel of the County Regiment, of which Jacob Duché was at the same time elected colonel.[2]

It was principally through the energy of Colonel Coultas that the first steps were taken towards rendering the Schuylkill River navigable. He was appointed one of the commissioners to survey that stream, and first succeeded in showing that it was possible to navigate the falls for large boats. So zealous was he in his efforts to enlist the public interest in the subject that he made use of the following artifice to attract the attention of the people of Philadelphia. The story is told in his own words in the following advertisement:

"THIS is to give Notice that James Coultas Esq; one of the Commissioners for clearing Schuylkill, hath this Day made a Bett of One Hundred Pounds current Money of Pennsylvania, with Captain Oswald Eve, that he, the said James Coultas, will, on Saturday the 3d of November inst., at Ten o'Clock in the morning, take up two Flat Loads of Hay from the lower Part of the Big Falls in the said river Schuylkill to the Ferry Wharff, adjoining the Land of the Reverend William Smith, in 30 Minutes from the Time the Word is given to Pull away. If the Weather that Day should prove bad, it will be deferred to the Monday follow-

which 170 acres clear, in good fence, 35 acres of good meadow, in good fence, with good buildings and improvements; a great quantity of apple and other fruit trees; a good spring-house, very convenient to keep a large dairy, to be entered on the 10th of March inst. To be lett with the said place 8 acres of tide meadow, well banked and fenced, within a mile and a half of the said plantation. For further particulars, enquire of George Gray, at the Lower Ferry, on Schuylkill, or James Coultas, Sheriff in Philadelphia.

[1] Westcott's "History of Philadelphia" (Philadelphia Library edition), Vol. I. p. 231.

[2] Ibid., Vol. II. p. 305.

ing, the same Time of Day. As the clearing and making Rivers navigable, must be of the greatest Advantage to the Community in general, and raise the Value of their Lands and lower the Price of Firewood and Timber in the City, it is desired that all Persons who have the good of their Country at Heart will give their Attendance, as it must be more laudable than to spend their Time and Money to go and see Horse-racing, the Consequence of which is the Corruption of Youth, being an Encouragement to Vice and Idleness.

"JAMES COULTAS."[1]

A few days later he gives the following account of the result of this undertaking:

"This is to acquaint the Public that, agreeable to the Notice given by me, I did, on Saturday, the 3d Day of this inst. take up the Great Falls on Schuylkill, to the Ferry Wharff two Flats, with 4323 Pounds of Hay, in 21 Minutes from the Word given Pull away, under the Disadvantage of the River having less Water than for severall Years past, owing to the dry Season. Great Numbers attended, and were highly pleased with the Performance. And it is to be hoped that all Persons who own Lands adjoining the said River, will further contribute to enable the Commissioners to make it further useful, by clearing other Obstructions, as what is already done hath raised the Price of Lands. I must now beg to be excused for my inserting in my former Advertisement, a Bett laid of 100 Pounds with Captain Oswald Eve; I before the Performance acquainted all my Friends there was no Wager laid, but the name of that drew there the greater Number of Spectators.

"JAMES COULTAS."[2]

How keenly Colonel Coultas was on the alert to grasp every opportunity of improving the city and its environs is shown by the following advertisement, which appeared within twenty-one days of those just quoted:

"December 3, 1764.

"WHEREAS GOOD ROADS are of the greatest Use and Benefit to the Inhabitants, both as to Profit and Pleasure; and

[1] *Pennsylvania Gazette*, November 1, 1764.

[2] Ibid., November 22, 1764.

altho' the Legislature of this Province hath taken much Pains to make Laws for the Amendment of the Highways, yet they do not seem to answer the end thereby intended,

"I do therefore humbly propose to undertake the Amendment of the Road from the first Hill to the Westward of the Lower Ferry on Schuylkill to the Borough of Chester, being the Distance of about eleven Miles, making Stone Bridges over all the Runs and Hollows in the said Road, if Money to defray the Expense of the same can be raised by Subscription, from the Inhabitants, Travellers, County Commissioners, and the Overseers of the Highways. I have given Two Thousand Pounds Security to the Treasurers of the Counties of Philadelphia and Chester, and their Successors, that the Money so raised shall be expended for the aforesaid Use, and no other whatsoever.

"JAMES COULTAS.

"Persons appointed to receive SUBSCRIPTIONS.

"William Parr, Esq; John Biddle, William Bradford, and James Coultas, Philadelphia. George Gray, and Thomas James, Lower Ferry. John Rudolph, and John Trapnall, Darby. Philip Ford, Esq; John Price, David Cowpland, John Hanley, John Withy, and Davis Bevan, Chester. George Grantham, Ridley. John Hannum, Esq; Concord. Robert Moulder, William Henderson, and Joseph Buffington, Marcus-Hook. William Patterson, Esq; Cristine Bridge. Joshua Littler, Wilmington. And Thomas Duff, Esq: at Newport."[1]

The authorities were not slow to recognize the merits and intelligence of Colonel Coultas, and the public offices which he held show that he was as good and zealous an official as he was citizen. He was commissioned justice of the peace February 28, 1761,[2] and November 19, 1764;[3] he was high sheriff of the county from October 4, 1755, to October 25, 1758,[4] and in 1765 (February 28) he was appointed judge of the Orphans' Court, Quarter Sessions, and Common Pleas.[5] The exigencies of public life did not, however, prevent his participation in the recreations which Philadelphia offered to its citizens of that period. His

[1] *Pennsylvania Gazette*, December 13, 1764.

[2] J. Hill Martin's "Bench and Bar of Philadelphia," p. 33.

[3] Ibid., p. 34. [4] Ibid., p. 101. [5] Ibid., p. 69.

name is to be found among the members of the Gloucester Fox-Hunting Club and the Colony in Schuylkill.[1] Indeed, his membership in the latter organization deserves more than a passing mention, because of the following curious document, which was issued by that independent little province in 1761, when Colonel Coultas was one of the commissioners to survey the Schuylkill:

"To all our loving subjects, in the Colony in Schuylkill to whom these presents may come, Greeting; *Whereas*, the bearer hereof, James Coultas, has been a long time a member of our said Colony, and borne several commissions of honour and profit, and the said James Coultas has discharged the same to our satisfaction; *Now Know Ye*, that the said James Coultas is by our permission appointed by our neighboring Government a Commissioner for viewing the river Schuylkill: We do hereby request that the said James Coultas and his associates may have all the assistance that may be necessary for such discoveries that he and they may want to make. Given under my hand and the great seal of the Colony, this third day of October 1761, and in the twenty-ninth year of my administration.

"THOMAS STRETCH.

"JOSEPH STILES, *Sec'y*.

{ Schuylkill, L. S. 1732 }"[2]

Besides the testimony which the newspapers of the day bear to the energy with which Colonel Coultas performed the duties of his official positions, we have the following curious item in an old account-book of the Overseers of the Poor for the year 1758:[3]

"Nov. 9th. By cash of James Coultas late Sheriff, being a fine paid by Loughlane McClane for kissing of Osborne's

[1] "An Authentic Historical Memoir of the Schuylkill Fishing Company of the State in Schuylkill, etc." By a Member. Philadelphia, 1830, pp. 13 and 14.

[2] Ibid., p. 18.

[3] Westcott's "History of Philadelphia" (Philadelphia Library edition), Vol. II. p. 313.

wife, after his commissions and writing bond were deducted, £24,5*s*."

When an energetic man was sheriff, kissing must have been an expensive amusement in those days; at least McClane found it so.

In 1741, Colonel Coultas built a house for his own occupation upon a lane leading from the road to Darby to the road to West Chester, choosing a beautiful location upon the brow of a hill rising from the Ameasaka,—a small stream,—a tributary of the Kasakung, or Cobb's Creek. For many years the road was known as Coultas' Lane, but is now called Gray's Lane, after his successor and heir. To this house he added a wing in 1754, and made the whole a fine stone mansion, to which he gave the name of Whitby Hall. Here he lived until his death in 1768, when the property passed to his wife, and from her, in 1769, to her half-brother, George Gray, whose descendant still possesses it. In 1819 extensive additions were made, in which the architecture of the original building was so accurately followed that it is now difficult to distinguish between the old and the new; and thanks, therefore, to the good taste which dictated the style of these additions, Whitby Hall is to-day as perfect a specimen of our Colonial architecture as exists anywhere in the neighborhood of Philadelphia.

At a later period Coultas was largely instrumental in the erection of the Swedish Church of St. James at Kingsessing, which, like the house, is a fine specimen of English masonry, and is highly creditable to his taste. The corner-stone was laid in 1760, and the building itself was completed in 1762.

Colonel Coultas married, March 13, 1735, at Christ Church,[1] Elizabeth, daughter of Joseph and Mary Ewen,[2]

[1] "Pennsylvania Marriages," Vol. I. p. 57.

[2] Mary Ewen md., 2d, George Gray [d. 1748. He was son of George and Mary (Hill) Gray, of Philadelphia, and grandson of George Gray, of Barbadoes, by his w. Mary, dau. of Alexander Beardsley, of Philadelphia], and d. in 1760, leaving issue:

(1) *Mary*, b. Mch. 29, 1717; md., 1st, Aug. 10, 1733, to Daniel Syng, of Phila., son of Philip Syng, of Annapolis, Md., and had issue. He d. in

of Germantown, but died without issue in 1768. He was buried February 1, 1768,[1] and his will was proved and letters testamentary granted to George Gray, February 20, 1768.[2] His widow did not long survive him; she was buried December 1, 1769.

The services of James Coultas to the city in which he made his home cannot be too highly rated. He served her both as an official and as a private citizen with zeal, integrity, and intelligence. Many of the improvements in her condition had their inception with him; and yet, strange to say, to-day he is entirely forgotten, and even the contemporary newspapers fail to record the date of his death.

1745, and she was md., 2d, July 9, 1747, to Thomas James, of Philadelphia.

(2) *George*, of Gray's Ferry, b. in Philadelphia, Oct. 26, 1725. Member of the Penna. Assembly from 1772 to 1787; he was author of the celebrated "Treason Resolutions" in 1775, and Speaker of the Assembly. He was also a member of the Committee of Safety, 1776–77, member and chairman of the Board of War, and of the Constitutional Convention of 1790. He md., Nov. 25, 1752, Martha, dau. of Robert and Margaret (Coultas) Ibbetson; he d. in 1800, leaving issue.

[1] Record of Burials, Christ Church, Philadelphia (MS. copy, Pennsylvania Historical Society).

[2] The following advertisement appeared in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 7, 1768:

"On Thursday, the 7th of April inst. at 9 o'clock in the Morning, at the plantation late James Coultas's, Esq; in Blockley, will be sold by public vendue, all the stock, carriages and implements of husbandry, consisting of horses, mares and colts, milch cows, and store cattle, a very large bull, 20 fine sheep, some of the English breed, with lambs; waggons, carts and geers, plows, harrows and slay; carpenters' tools; a quantity of wheelwright stuff, well seasoned; and a variety of very good household and kitchen furniture, some plate, and many other things, not particularly mentioned. Three months' credit, giving security, is required and attendance given, by the executors, ELIZABETH COULTAS, and GEORGE GRAY.

"N.B. To be sold at private sale 6 Negroes, viz. a Negroe man, a cooper by trade, a very good workman; his wife, a very good housewench, with one female child, two years old; one other Negroe woman, a good house and dairy maid; likewise two twins, a boy and Girl, ten years old, smart lively children."

RECORDS OF THE LOWER DUBLIN OR PENNYPACK BAPTIST CHURCH.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE TIMES OF THE BIRTHS OF CHILDREN OF SUCH AS ARE MEMBERS OF THIS CHURCH.

Elizabeth watts Daughter of John Watts and Sarah his wife, was born	2.15.1689
John Watts sonn of John watts and Sarah his wife was Born	1.6.1691
Sarah Watts the eldest and Mary watts the youngest being twins and Daughters of John Watts and Sarah his wife, were Born	10.8.1693
Deborah Watts Daughter of John Watts and Sarah his wife, was Born	12.6.1695
Silas Watts son of John Watts and Sarah his wife was Born	1.7.1698
Stephen Watts son of John Watts and Sarah his wife was born	12.6.1700
Thomas Bibb son of Thomas Bibb and Ruth his wife was born	1.17.1695
Mary Bibb daughter of Thomas Bibb and Ruth his wife was born	5.24.1698
John the son of Samuel Jones and Katherine his wife was born	2.17.1698
Samuel the son of Samuel Jones was born	7.4.1699
George the son of Samuel Jones was born	2.11.1701
John Eaton the son of Joseph and Gwen his wife was born	11.25.1700
Mary Mason the daughter of Robert and Jane his wife was born	10.3.1697
John Mason the son of Robert and Jane his wife was born	9.—1699
James Mason the son of Robert and Jane his wife was born	1.5.1702

hester miles the daughter of Griffith and bridget his wife was born 7.28.1693
Martha Miles the daughter of Griffith and Bridget his wife was born 8.12.1695
Margaret Miles the daughter of Griffith and bridget his wife was born 2.9.1698
Griffith Miles the son of Griffith and bridget his wife was born 10.3.1700
John and Mary Taylor the son and daughter of Peter and Sarah his wife being twins were born 5.15.1698
Jacob Taylor the son of Peter and sara his wife was born 1.6.1699
Sara Taylor the daughter of Peter and Sara his wife was born 9.12.1701
Joseph Eaton the sonn of Joseph and Gwen his wife was born 7.2.1703
Thomasin Taylor the daughter of Peter and Sara his wife was born 8.2.1703
David pane the son of John pane and Elizabeth his wife was born 11.15.1704
George Eaton the son of Joseph and Gwen his wife was born at one in the morn 2.15.1705
Elizabeth Taylor the daughter of peter and Sarah his wife was born 9.20.1705
Frances Morgan the daughter of Evan and Mary his wife was born 5.15.1706
Edward Eaton the son of Joseph and Gwen his wife was born 7.9.1706
Elizabeth pane the daughter of John pane and Elizabeth his wife was born 3.11.1707
Samuel Miles the son of Griffith and bridget his wife was born 7.—1703
Jacob Mason the son of Robert and Jane his wife was born 5.16.1706
Peter Taylor the son of Peter and Sarah his wife was born 12.19.1708
John Milles the son of Griffith and bridget his wife was born 2.26.1709

Mary Taylor the daughter of peter and Sarah his wife was born 11.21.1709/10

Judith Eaton the daughter of Joseph Eaton and Gwen his wife was born 11.31.1710

Joan Eaton the daughter of Joseph and Gwen his wife was born 12.4.1712

Isaac Jones ye son of Henry and Elianor Jones was born 5.17.1716

George Eaton the son of George and Mary his wife was born 12.12.1712

Martha Taylor the daughter of peter and Sarah his wife was born 3.8.1712

John Morgan the son of William and Mary his wife was born 7 — 1712
dyed Aug — 1712

Rebecka Daughter of Peter Taylor & Sarah his wife was Born May the 4th 1714

Phillip son to peter Taylor & Sarah his wife born May 5 1717

Parnell Daughter to peter Taylor & Sarah March 18. 1719/20

John ye Son of John Hart Jun was born ye 10th of Sept ab^t^ 4 a'clock in ye morn being Saturday 1709
John Hart Died June ye 11th 1743

Susannah hart Born ab^t^ 10 at night being fryday April 20. 1711
She Died March ye 30. 1733

William Hart Born past 11 in ye morn being saturday March 7th 1712/13
He Dyed Oct ye 6th 1714

Joseph was Born Sept 1 being thursday ab^t^ 6 in ye morn 1715

Silas was Born ab^t^ 10 at night ye 5th of may being Sunday 1718

Lucretia was Born ab^t^ July 22 ab^t^ 5 in ye morn being fryday 1720

Oliver Hart son to John Hart born ye 5th of July at 8 In ye morning being fryday 1723

Edith Hart of ditto was born at 7 In ye afternoon on ye 14th of May 1727

Zepaniah Holwell was born ye 6th of Jan'y 1723/4

Sarah Holwell was born 27 of nov^br 1725 about 11 at night on a Saturday

Stephen Holwell was born 12 of Sept 1727 aboute 5 In ye morning on thursday

John Holme ye Son of John & martha Holme was born 20 of Sept 1706 at 8 In ye morning at pennypack mill on friday (with 2 crowns) and

Thomas Holme ye son of ditto was born 13 of July 1708 at 9 In ye Evening on tusday at ye same place

Hannah Bazelee ye daughter of Stephen and Hannah Bazelee was Born November 16, 1731 in ye morning

Jan 11th 1731/2 Seth Hart was born between 2 & 3 a Clock in ye morning being Tuesday in warminster. He died Oct ye 30th 1740

Robert Edge was born Aug ye 12, 1722

Susannah Edge was born July ye 27 1724

John Edge was born September ye 32, 1726

Mary Edge was born Oct 1, 1733

Abel Holme ye Son of John & Jaen Holme was born ye 12 of february 1729/30 on Tuesday about half an hour after 8 a Clock in ye morning

Martha Holme ye Daughter of John and Jaen Holme was Born ye 28 of September Annoq Dom 1731 onTuesday about half an hour after 2 a'Clock in ye morning

Enoch Holme ye Son of John and Jaen Holme was Born ye 18 Day of August 1733 on Sadurday at 5 a'Clock in the morning

Hannah Holme ye Daughter of John & Jaen Holme was Born Tuesday about half an hour after 9 a Clock in ye morning

Mary Cattlee ye daughter of John and Mary Cattlee was Born August ye 3 in ye year 1736 about 6 a Clock in ye afternoon

Stephen Shewell son of Robert and Elizabeth was Born ye 29th day of June 1727

and Joseph Shewell born Jan 14th 1728/9

and Mary Shewell born feb ye 7, 1731/2

and William Shewell born Jan 11 1733/4

and Elizabeth Shewell born Sept 20th 1741

1736 Andrew Edge ye Son of Andrew & Mary Edge was Born Aug ye 10th, 32 minutes after two a Clock in the morning

May 1, 1739 An account of ye Birth of Jeremiah Collett's children, recorded in this Book at his request

Jaen Collett ye Daughter of Jeremiah & Susannah Collett was born february 10th on Monday at 6 a'Clock in the morning in ye year 1717

Jeremiah Collett was Born January the 6th in the morning at Break a-Day 1719

John Collett was Born April —— on friday at four a'Clock in ye afternoon in ye year 1722

William Collett was Born June the 4th on thursday at 6 a'Clock in ye afternoon in ye year 1724

James Collett was Born June ye 16th on Sunday at one a'Clock in the Morning in ye year 1728

Sarah Collett was Born November the 18th at nine a'Clock at night in ye year 1730

Joseph Collett was Born March ye 8th at three a Clock in ye afternoon in ye year 1732

Esther Kinnersley Daughter of Ebenezer & Sarah Kinnersley born Nov 13, 1740

William Kinnersley their son born Oct 29th 1743

John Holme son of John and Jane Holme, was born the 14th day of February 1742/3 on Monday half an hour after one o'clock in the afternoon

THE PRINCIPIO COMPANY.

A HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE FIRST IRON-WORKS IN MARYLAND.

BY WILLIAM G. WHITELY, WILMINGTON, DEL.

The Principio Company was an association of British iron-masters, merchants, and capitalists, established in the early part of the last century, and engaged in manufacturing pig- and bar-iron in the Colonies of Maryland and Virginia. They were the first persons to erect iron-works in Maryland, about the year 1715, and had a long and prosperous existence for more than sixty years. Those who were most prominently connected with this company were Sir Nicholas Hackell Carew, Bart., of Beddington, Co. Surrey; Thomas Russell, of Birmingham, and his sons, William and Thomas Russell; Stephen Onion; John England; Joshua, Samuel, and Osgood Gee; William Chetwynd, Esq., of England, and Augustine and Lawrence Washington, of Virginia, father and brother of George Washington.

The Provinces of Maryland and Virginia jointly were, prior to the Revolution, foremost of the Colonies in the production of iron. Later developments have given to Pennsylvania her present rank of largest producer and manufacturer, but at this period she was far behind her Southern neighbors. Not only were they then the largest producers, but they had also been the first exporters. In 1718 Maryland or Virginia, it is not known which, sent to England the first shipment of pig-iron ever exported from this country, a small lot of three and one-half tons, as recorded in the official returns of the British custom-house.[1] From

[1] Maryland and Virginia are always coupled together in the British custom-house reports, probably from the fact that large quantities of Maryland iron were carried to York River and other ports in Virginia in small vessels, and there reloaded into ships for transportation across

this insignificant beginning the manufacture and export of both pig- and bar-iron (for forges were usual adjuncts of the furnaces) increased under the fostering policy of the Lord Proprietor, until, in 1751, these two Provinces exported 2950 tons of pig-iron to England, against 199 tons from Pennsylvania, 33 tons from New York, 9 tons from New England, and 17 tons from Carolina.

In 1761 the Governor and Council of Maryland reported to the Commissioners of the Board of Trade and Plantations in England that there were eight furnaces and ten forges in that Province, which made 2500 tons of pig- and 600 tons of bar-iron yearly. The total annual production of England herself at this period was only 17,000 tons of pig-iron.

To Captain John Smith, among his many other achievements, belongs the honor of the discovery of iron in Maryland. In his voyage up the Chesapeake Bay, in 1606, he entered the Patapsco River, which he named Bolus, because of the red clay found there, "resembling *bole armoniack* and *terra sigillata.*" This clay was a covering for extensive mines of iron ore, afterwards opened and worked by the Principio Company and by Mr. John Moale, at Moale's Point, that point where it was sought to establish Baltimore Town, but where the town was not established, through the hostility of Mr. Moale, who refused to sell his land, and had a greater interest in his ores than in a prospective city.

A whole century elapsed before Captain Smith's discovery was turned to account. The year 1715 has been given as the epoch of furnaces in Maryland, and there is no reason to believe that any were in existence prior to that time. The question who were the pioneers in the business is a difficult one to answer positively. Governor Spotswood, of Virginia, claimed for himself that honor. Colonel Byrd, in his "Progress to the Mines" (1732), says, "The Governor had, nine years previously, vacated the Gubernatorial chair, and was at this time extensively engaged in the

the ocean. Thence would arise a difficulty in distinguishing the product of each colony, since iron manufactured in Maryland would be manifested from Virginia.

iron-mining business. I let him understand that besides the pleasure of paying him a visit, I came to be instructed by so great a master in the mystery of making iron, wherein he had led the way and was the Tubal Cain of Virginia. He corrected me a little there, by assuring me he was not only the first in this country, but the first in North America, who had erected a regular Furnace." Hugh Jones, in his "Present Condition of Virginia," published about 1724, describes a settlement called Germania, situated "beyond Col. Spotswood's furnace above the falls of Rappahannock, etc."

Conceding Governor Spotswood's priority in Virginia, his claim of having been the first person to erect a furnace in America must be modified, for there was one furnace in Maryland of equally early origin. The preamble to the act of the Maryland General Assembly for the encouragement of iron manufacturers, passed in 1719, recites that "there are very great conveniences of carrying on iron-works within this province which have not hitherto been embraced for want of proper encouragement to some first undertakers," implying that iron-works had been in operation, and, though languishing, were still working at that very time. Hence the shipment, made in 1718, of three and a half tons, may as probably have come from Maryland as from Governor Spotswood's Virginia furnace.

Some recently acquired information in our possession, which has never before been published, seems to establish clearly the fact that among the first, if not actually the very first, persons to erect iron-works in Maryland, was a party of English merchants and capitalists, the subjects of our sketch. That they were the first there is very strong presumptive evidence in the name they chose for their furnace, *Principio*, which name they afterwards assumed when they incorporated themselves as the Principio Company. The information just alluded to is contained in a number of the original ledgers, journals, and account-books belonging to this company, letters from the company's office in London to its agents in this country, copies of replies made by these

agents to the proprietors, and letters exchanged among each other at the various furnaces and forges, a fragmentary correspondence ranging over a period of sixty years, from 1725, the date of the earliest letter, to 1785.[1] Among the oldest books are the ledgers of Principio Works from 1723 to 1727 inclusive, in the first of which are references to still older books, which, unfortunately, cannot now be found. All these seem to show beyond a doubt that these were the "first undertakers" referred to in the act of 1719, and that the Principio furnace in Cecil County, on a small creek of same name emptying into the Chesapeake near the mouth of the Susquehanna, and the North East Forge, six miles distant, at the head of North East River, were the first iron-works in Maryland. Certainly no others have traced their history to so early a period, nor established any title to the distinction. The Baltimore Company's furnace on Gwynn's Falls was not built until some time after 1723. It is a fact worthy of notice that iron-works have been almost continuously in operation on these two spots ever since their first establishment, or about one hundred and sixty years. At Principio, Mr. Geo. P. Whitaker has had a charcoal furnace in successful operation for a long time, and at North East, on the very site of one of the old forges, are the present extensive forges and rolling-mills of the McCullough Iron Company.

Stephen Onion and Thomas Russell, Sr., if not the originators, were the most active promoters of the enterprise. They came to America, and, after careful prospecting, leased and opened ore-banks, purchased woodland for making charcoal, built the Principio and North East Works (the former consisting of both furnace and forge, the latter of a forge alone), arranged for the disposal of their bar- and surplus pig-iron, and, in short, established the business on a successful footing. The records of the Land Office at

[1] These letters, kindly placed at our disposal by Rev. T. Snowden Thomas, of Philadelphia, were found among the effects of his ancestor, Thomas Russell, Esq., of Green Hill, near North East, Cecil County, Maryland, who was a member of the Principio Company.

Annapolis show early acquisitions of lands by them. On the 27th of April, 1721, John Copson, of Philadelphia, obtained a warrant from Lord Baltimore's Land Office for such lands as he should direct, and a patent accordingly issued to him May 24, 1722. In July of this same year this patent was transferred to Stephen Onion and Company, "for a valuable consideration by me received and other good reasons thereunto me moving," and comprised a tract of land called Geoffarrison, in Cecil County, near North East, containing five thousand seven hundred and forty-three acres, as originally surveyed, extending from Corroll Cove on the North East River to within a mile or so of Elkton. One of the boundary-lines of this tract was one thousand perches long, or more than three miles.

William Chetwynd and others, designated as iron-masters of Great Britain, held two hundred acres of land, which they had by lease bearing date May 31, 1722, under his lordship as part of Baltimore, *alias* North East Manor, containing by estimation six thousand acres, and part of New Connaught, *alias* Susquehanna Manor, originally granted to Colonel George Talbot for the quantity of thirty-two thousand acres, and forfeited to his Lordship the Lord Proprietary.

It must not be inferred that the date of these land-grants fix the date of the erection of the works. These lands were merely additions to the original purchases, and go to show the extent the company's operations were beginning to acquire, even at that early period, in consequence of the encouraging act of 1719. It will be observed that in almost every instance, where they leased or patented lands, they employed some third person, who afterwards assigned the property to them for a nominal consideration, which has at times rendered it difficult to trace the titles of their first acquired property.

Among the writs of *ad quod damnum* granted out of the Provincial Chancery of Maryland in pursuance of the act of 1719 for the encouragement of iron manufacturers was one issued October 19, 1721, for twenty acres of land in Cecil

County for a grist-mill, which, as the books show, was carried on by the company in connection with their furnace operations; also a writ granted February 5, 1734, to John Ruston, of Cecil, and assigned by him, in 1736, in consideration of five shillings, to William Chetwynd & Co. This survey calls for one hundred acres of land, and begins at the second bounded tree of another tract of one hundred acres *already* laid out for said Ruston, from which there appears to have been an older patent, which is not recorded.

Russell and Onion having now opened the business, left it in charge of John England, a practical iron-master, who was to act as their representative in America, and sailed for Great Britain together in 1724. They took passage from New Castle in the same ship with Benjamin Franklin, who states in his memoirs, describing his first visit to England, "I quitted Philadelphia in the ship which anchored at New Castle. Mr. Andrew Hamilton, a celebrated lawyer of Philadelphia, had taken his passage in the same ship for himself and son, with Mr. Denham, a Turkey merchant, and Messrs. Onion and Russell, masters of an iron-work in Maryland, who had engaged the great cabin." Onion soon returned, and in 1726 we find him in active superintendence at Principio, but Russell remained in England.

(To be continued.)

THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION OF 1787.

SKETCHES OF THE MEMBERS OF THE PENNSYLVANIA CONVENTION.

BY WILLIAM HENRY EGLE, M.D.

(Continued from Vol. X. p. 460.)

CAMPBELL, THOMAS, of York County, the son of John Campbell, was born about 1750 in Chanceford township, that county. His father took up a tract of land at an early day, situated on the "Great Road leading from York to Nelson's Ferry." He was of Scotch-Irish descent, and received the education accorded that sturdy race. He was a farmer by occupation. When the Revolutionary struggle began, he enlisted as a private in Captain Michael Doudel's company, attached to Colonel William Thompson's battalion of riflemen, in July, 1775. He served through the New England campaign, and was commissioned first lieutenant in the Fourth Regiment of the Pennsylvania Line, January 3, 1777. He was severely wounded at Germantown, was promoted captain-lieutenant January 1, 1781, and retired the service January 1, 1783. He was one of the original members of the Pennsylvania Society of the Cincinnati. Captain Campbell was chosen a delegate to the State Convention to ratify the Federal Constitution in 1787; served as a member of the Pennsylvania House of Representatives from 1797 to 1800, and of the Senate from the York and Adams district from 1805 to 1808. He died at his residence in Monaghan township, York County, January 19, 1815. He left descendants, but nothing further is known of them.

CHAMBERS, STEPHEN, of Lancaster County, was a native of the north of Ireland, where he was born about 1750. He came to Pennsylvania prior to the Revolution. Fithian, in his journal of date July 20, 1775, met him at Sunbury, "a

lawyer, . . . serious, civil, and sociable." At the outset of the war he entered the service, was appointed first lieutenant of the Twelfth Regiment of the Line, October 16, 1776, and promoted captain in 1777. He was chosen to the General Assembly from the county of Northumberland in 1778, and while in attendance thereon was admitted to the Philadelphia bar, March 6, 1779. He was admitted to the Lancaster bar in 1780, removing there the same year, and to that of York, April 23, 1781. In 1779 he was a member of the Republican Society of Philadelphia, whose object was the revision of the Constitution of 1776. He was also one of the original members of the Pennsylvania Society of the Cincinnati.[1] He represented Lancaster County in the Council of Censors, 1783–84, and was a delegate to the Convention of November 20, 1787, to ratify the Federal Constitution. At the constituting of Lodge 22, Ancient York Masons, at Sunbury, December 27, 1779, he became its first Worshipful Master, and the warrant for that body was produced and presented by him at "his own proper cost and charges." In May, 1789, he was challenged by Dr. Reiger, of Lancaster, for some offence said to have been given at Stake's tavern in that town. The duel took place on Monday, May 11, 1789, and Mr. Chambers was seriously wounded, dying on Saturday following, the 16th. Thus perished one of the most brilliant legal minds of the bar, an event which agitated the public mind for years afterwards as an unwarranted and cold-blooded murder. Captain Chambers's sister Jane married Judge John Joseph Henry.

CHENEY, THOMAS, of Chester County, son of John Cheney, Jr., and Ann Hickman, was born in Thornbury township, that county, December 12, 1731. His grandfather, John Cheney, Sr., came to Pennsylvania about the close of the century, located in Middleton township, Chester County, where he died in 1722, leaving two sons, John and Thomas. They became possessed of a large tract of land in Thornbury in 1724, and here it was that the subject of this sketch

[1] His certificate of membership is among the collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.—ED.

lived all his fourscore years, an intelligent and progressive farmer. At the commencement of the Revolution he was an earnest Whig. He was appointed by the Assembly, December 16, 1777, to take subscriptions for the Continental loan; one of the agents for forfeited estates under the Act of Attainder, May 6, 1778; and sub-lieutenant of Chester County, March 30, 1780. He was commissioned one of the justices in 1779, and again in 1784. Under the Constitution of 1790 he was continued by Governor Mifflin, his commission bearing date August 26, 1791. He served as one of the delegates to the Pennsylvania Convention to ratify the Federal Constitution in 1787, and signed the ratification. Squire Cheney died January 12, 1811, and is buried in the family graveyard. He was twice married,—first, in 1755, to Mrs. Mary (Riley) Taylor, who died in 1766; secondly, in 1769, to Mrs. Mary (Bennett) Vernon, who died July 9, 1819. There were eight children. On page 70 of Futhey and Cope's invaluable "History of Chester County" is narrated a characteristic incident in the life of this prominent personage.

Coleman, Robert, of Lancaster County, was born November 4, 1748, near Castle-Finn, Donaghmore, County Donegal, Ireland. At the age of sixteen he came to America with letters to Blair McClenaghan and the Messrs. Biddle, of Philadelphia. Through them he secured a position with Mr. Read, prothonotary at Reading, in whose employ he remained two years, at the expiration of which he accepted a situation as clerk with Peter Grubb at Hopewell Forge. At the end of six months he entered the employ of James Old at Quittopehille Forge, near Lebanon. Mr. Old, some time after, removing from Speedwell Forge to Reading, took Mr. Coleman with him. In 1773 he rented Salford Forge, near Norristown, where he remained three years. In 1776 he moved to Elizabeth Furnace, in Lancaster County, which he first rented, and afterwards bought out gradually the different shares from the firm who owned it, namely, Stiegel, Stedman, and Benezet. By his energy and indomitable perseverance Mr. Coleman became the most enterprising and

successful iron-master in Pennsylvania, characteristics which have descended to the present generation of Colemans, who have maintained the celebrity of the magnitude of their iron-works and the excellence of the manufacture. Mr. Coleman served as a member of the General Assembly in 1783–84, as delegate to the Convention to ratify the Federal Constitution in 1787, and as a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1789–90. Under that organic law he was commissioned, August 17, 1791, one of the associate judges for Lancaster County, an office he held twenty years. He was chosen a Presidential elector in 1792, and again in 1796. At the latter Electoral College he intended to vote for Burr for Vice-President, but did not. In 1809 Mr. Coleman removed to the town of Lancaster, where he died August 14, 1825, and is buried in the graveyard of St. James' Church. He married, October 4, 1773, Anne Old, daughter of James Old, and their children were *William*, *James*, *Edward*, and *Thomas Bird.*

Deshler, David, of Northampton County, was born at Egypta, in the upper part of North Whitehall township, that county, in 1733, where his father, Adam Deshler, was among the first settlers. The latter operated a mill on the Little Lehigh, of which the son subsequently became owner. He was quite prominent in the French and Indian war, and was active in the adoption of measures in defending the frontiers; and his house, a large stone structure, became a place of refuge for the people of the vicinity in case of an Indian alarm. In 1764 he was a shopkeeper in Allentown, but two years afterwards sold out and removed to his grist- and saw-mills, which he continued to operate until almost the close of his life. During the Revolutionary war he became one of the most influential personages in Northampton County; acted as commissary of supplies, and, with his colleague and neighbor, Captain John Arndt, advanced money out of his private means at a time when not only the United States treasury but also that of Pennsylvania was empty. He was a member of the Provincial Conference which met at Carpenters' Hall June 18, 1776, and appointed by that

body one of the judges of the election for the second division of the county, held at Allentown. He was a delegate to the Convention to ratify the Federal Constitution in 1787, and filled other positions of public trust. He was a man of great ability and much force of character. Mr. Deshler closed his eventful life at his residence at Biery's Bridge, now Catasauqua, in December, 1796, leaving a wife, Susanna, and children as follows: *John Adam*, *George*, *David*, *Catharine*, m. Charles Desher; *Barbara*, m. John Wagener; *Susanna*, m. Frederick Peissel; *Elizabeth*, m. Jacob Mickley; *Sarah*, and *Mary*.

Downing, Richard, of Chester County, son of Richard Downing and his wife, Mary Edge, was born May 4, 1750, in Caln township, that county. His father operated a fulling-, grist- and saw-mills, and the son was brought up in that occupation. He was a man of intelligence, and especially prominent in public affairs after the close of the Revolution. During the struggle for independence he was a Non-Associator. He was a delegate to the Pennsylvania Convention to ratify the Federal Constitution in 1787; served in the General Assembly from 1788 to 1790, and, under the organic law of the latter year, was one of the representatives of his county in the Legislature from 1790 to 1792. During the local excitement caused by changing the county-seat, when it was not only proposed but really attempted to locate it at Milltown, now Downingtown, he was one of the leading spirits in opposing it. He died January 5, 1820, in his seventieth year. Mr. Downing married Elizabeth Rees, and their children were *Thomas*, *David*, *Mary*, *Richard*, *William*, *Elizabeth*, m. John R. Thomas, and *Phœbe*, m. Jesse Meredith. Dr. George Thomas, of West Whiteland, is a grandson.

Edgar, James, of Washington County, the son of James Edgar, was born November 15, 1744, in Fawn township, York County. For the principal facts in his life, save what is here set forth, see "Biographical Sketches of the Members of the Constitutional Convention of 1776" (Penna. Magazine, Vol. III. p. 324). He was a member of the Con-

vention to ratify the Federal Constitution in 1787, but did not sign the ratification. He died on his farm on the 8th of June, 1814, in the seventy-first year of his age. An obituary of him in the Washington (Pa.) *Reporter* of August 22, 1814, says, "Till his last he continued to manifest himself a sincere friend of the cause of Christ and of his country; was much engaged to promote the interests of the Church and the good of the State. In his last long illness he bore his affliction with Christian patience, breathing the spirit of Christianity. His end was peaceful and quiet. The evening before his departure he with considerable confidence informed his family that he hoped to get his dismission from the body that night; accordingly, about three o'clock in the morning he resigned his last breath without a struggle or any indication of pain." In the list of distinguished men of Pennsylvania there are found none who bore a higher character.

Edwards, Enoch, of the county of Philadelphia, the son of Alexander Edwards, was born in 1751, in Lower Dublin, that county. He received a classical education, studied medicine, and was in the active practice of his profession when the Revolutionary war began, and in which he became an earnest participant. He was a member of the Provincial Conference held at Carpenters' Hall, June 18, 1776, and the same year served as surgeon in the Philadelphia Battalion of the "Flying Camp." He afterwards served as an aide on the staff of General Lord Stirling. He was commissioned one of the justices of the peace for the county of Philadelphia, June 6, 1777, and continued in office August 16, 1789. He was a delegate to the Convention to ratify the Federal Constitution of 1787, and a member of the Pennsylvania Constitutional Convention of 1789–90. Under the latter instrument he was appointed by Governor Mifflin, August 17, 1791, one of the associate judges, and continued in office by Governor McKean until his death at Frankford on the 25th of April, 1802, aged fifty years. Fenno's *Gazette* of the 26th gives us this estimate of his character: "He possessed talents which eminently qualified him for a public station.

A sound understanding, good sense improved by habits of reading and reflection, an intimate knowledge of mankind, an incorruptible integrity, with popular and engaging manners, enabled him to serve his country in important public functions. But his constitution and frame of body was unable to obey the calls of his vigorous mind. . . . His affable and amiable manners and his cheerful conversation (which remained almost to the last moment of his life) procured him the esteem and good will of all who conversed with him." (See Biddle's "Autobiography," p. 309, for interesting reference to Dr. Edwards.)

ELLIOTT, BENJAMIN, of Huntingdon County, eldest son of Robert and Martha Elliott, was born in 1752 in Peters township, Cumberland, now Franklin, County. For reference to his public life, see "Biographical Sketches of the Members of the Constitutional Convention of 1776" (PENNA. MAGAZINE, Vol. III. p. 325). Judge Elliott was what was then termed a Republican in politics. He signed the ratification.

FINDLEY, WILLIAM, of Westmoreland County, was born in 1741, near Londonderry, province of Ulster, Ireland. His grandfather was a native of Scotland, but settled early in life in the north of Ireland, and was one of the brave men who assisted in the heroic defence of Derry. The grandson received a fair English education, and came to Pennsylvania in 1763. Owing to the Indian troubles on the frontiers he remained within the settlements, where he taught school. At the beginning of the Revolution he was in the Cumberland Valley. He served as a captain in the militia in the years 1776 and 1777 under Colonel John Findlay, the period of the invasion into Pennsylvania, and was at the battle of the Crooked Billet. Towards the close of the war he removed with his family to Western Pennsylvania and took up a tract of land in Westmoreland County, on which he resided until his death. Here he became prominent in political affairs, his first entry upon the scene being in the character of a member of the Council of Censors. In this body he voted invariably against the party which professed Federalism. He served in the General

Assembly from 1784 to 1788; was a delegate to the Convention to ratify the Federal Constitution in 1787, one of its bitterest opponents, and did not sign the ratification. He was one of the members of the Anti-Constitution party who were mobbed in Philadelphia on the evening of the 6th of November that year. At the Harrisburg Conference in September, 1788, with Smilie and Gallatin, he was a leading spirit, and this trio almost accomplished the total defeat of the Constitutionalist ticket, electing two of the eight Congressmen, the parties being evenly balanced. He served as a member of the Supreme Executive Council from November 25, 1789, until the Constitution of 1790, of the Convention to form which he was a member, went into effect. He was elected a member of the Pennsylvania House of Representatives in 1790, at the same time a member of the Second Congress. He was re-elected to the Third, Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Congresses, and then, after an interval of two terms, during which period he served in the State Senate, to the Eighth, Ninth, Tenth, Eleventh, Twelfth, Thirteenth, and Fourteenth Congresses, serving a longer time in that representative body than any other person from Pennsylvania. During the so-called Whiskey Insurrection of 1794 he took a decided part, and as an apology for his share in it we are indebted to him for one of the most impartial histories of that transaction. He was as forcible a writer as a speaker, and the newspapers of the day contained many political articles from his pen. He was a shrewd politician without being a demagogue, and no man in Western Pennsylvania had as strong hold upon the people or was more popular than William Findley. He was a statesman of whom Pennsylvania should be proud. Mr. Findley died at his residence in Unity township, Westmoreland County, on the 5th of April, 1821, in the eightieth year of his age. He was twice married. By his first wife he had three children,—*David*, an officer in the United States army; *Nellie*, m. —— Carothers; and *Mary*, m. John Black. His second wife was a Widow Carothers, whose son by her first husband married Nellie Findley.

GIBBONS, WILLIAM, of Chester County, the son of James Gibbons and Jane Sheward, was born in 1737 in the township of Westtown, that county. The parents were prominent members of the Society of Friends, the mother being a minister thereof. After his marriage he resided in Philadelphia, subsequently, in 1766, removing to Thornbury township, and in 1769 to West Nantmeal, on a fine farm left him by his parents. For the active part he took in the struggle for independence he was disowned by the Society. He served as lieutenant-colonel of one of the Chester County battalions of Associators, was appointed justice of the peace March 31, 1777, and directed by the Supreme Executive Council, October 21, 1777, to collect blankets, arms, etc., from those not taking the oath of allegiance. Towards the close of the war he removed to Paxtang township, in Lancaster County, where he resided a year or two, for what purpose it is not known. In 1783 he was elected sheriff of Chester County, and it was during his time of service the seat of justice was removed from Chester to West Chester. He served as a delegate to the Convention to ratify the Federal Constitution in 1787, and as a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1789–90. Governor Mifflin commissioned him prothonotary of the county August 17, 1791, in which he served nine years. During the Whiskey Insurrection, in 1794, he volunteered under Captain Joseph McClellan for the expedition westward, performing that tour of military duty. He was elected a member of the House of Representatives in 1801, and served one term. Colonel Gibbons died October 30, 1803. He married, in 1761, Susanna Ashbridge, daughter of George and Jane Ashbridge, of Goshen township, Chester County. Resolute and fearless, Colonel Gibbons was none the less patriotic, just, and upright, and a man of mark in the annals of his native county.

GRAFF, SEBASTIAN, of Lancaster County, was the grandson of Sebastian Graff, a member of the Moravian Church, who emigrated with his family from Germany in 1731 or 1732, and settled in the town of Lancaster, where he was a

"shop-keeper" in 1734. The Sebastian of the third generation was born at Lancaster about 1750, and was in active business when the war for independence began. He took a prominent part, and was on the Committee of Observation for the county of Lancaster. He was a delegate to the Provincial Convention of January 23, 1775, and to the Convention to ratify the Federal Constitution of 1787, signing the ratification. He was a member of the Convention which framed the Constitution of 1789–90, and under that form of government was chosen to the State Senate in 1790. He died in July, 1792, Colonel Alexander Lowrey being elected to fill the vacancy. He was possessed of considerable estate, and was part owner of Martic Forge. His son Sebastian removed to Maryland. His brother Andrew was a member of the Provincial Conference of June 18, 1776, and treasurer of the county of Lancaster for a long term of years.

Gray, George, of the county of Philadelphia, the fifth of that name in the line of descent from George Gray, of Barbadoes, a wealthy member of the Society of Friends, was born at Gray's Ferry, that county. He took an early and active part in the affairs of the Province, and was elected a member of the Assembly in 1772, and annually until the commencement of the Revolutionary struggle. He was the author of the celebrated "Treason Resolutions" reported by the committee of which he was chairman. For the part he took in this and other warlike measures he was "turned out of meeting." He was a delegate to the Provincial Conference of July 15, 1774, and a member of the Provincial Convention of January 23, 1775. He was a member of the General Committee of Safety in 1776 and 1777, and of the Pennsylvania Board of War during its existence in 1777, serving a portion of the time as its chairman. He was one of the signers of the bills of credit in 1775, and a member of the Assembly in 1776. Under the Constitution of the latter year he served in the General Assembly from 1780 to 1787, being Speaker of that body in 1783–84. He was a delegate to the Convention to ratify the Federal Constitution in 1787, and a member of the Pennsylvania Constitutional Conven-

tion of 1789–90. During the entire period of the Revolution he was conspicuous by his patriotism. He died in the year 1800. His wife was the daughter of a noted English Methodist, William Ibbetson, British consul at Lisbon in 1766. Isaac Gray, a brother, who died in 1792, was a member of the General Assembly from 1782 to 1787.

GRIER, DAVID, of York County, son of William Grier, was born in Mount Pleasant township, that county, in 1742. He received a classical education, studied law with James Smith, and was admitted to the York County bar April 23, 1771. Having served in the French and Indian war as a subaltern officer, when the war for independence commenced he became a prominent participant. He was commissioned captain of the Sixth Battalion of the Line, Colonel William Irvine, January 9, 1776, served in the campaign against Canada, and was promoted to major October 25, 1776. He was subsequently promoted to lieutenant-colonel of the Seventh Regiment Pennsylvania Line, ranking from October 2, 1776. He was wounded in the side by a bayonet at the Paoli massacre in September, 1777. He continued in the service until, under the new arrangement of January 1, 1781, he was retired at that date. At the close of the war he resumed his profession at York, was elected to the General Assembly in 1783, served as a delegate to the Convention to ratify the Federal Constitution in 1787, and was chosen by the Constitutionalists one of the first Presidential electors. Colonel Grier died at York, June 3, 1790, aged forty-eight years. He was a brave officer and a distinguished citizen of the State.

(To be continued.)

M. W. BALDWIN'S "OLD IRONSIDES."

BY JOHN T. MONTGOMERY.

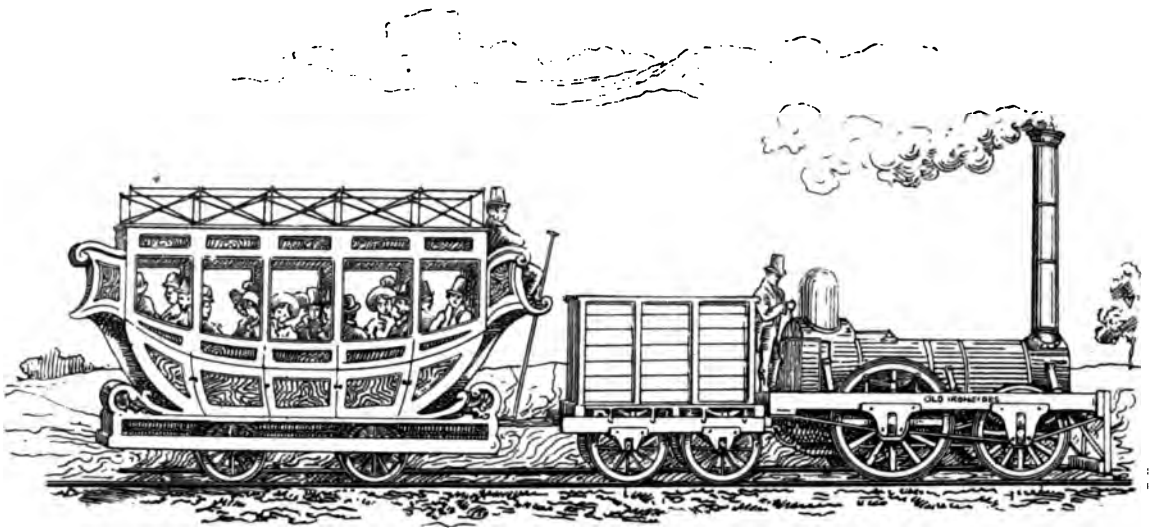
Facing page 387 of Vol. VI. of the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE is what purports to be a drawing of Baldwin's first locomotive engine, whereas it is a drawing of Stephenson's "Rocket," built in England in 1829, which never was in this country. It is so entirely different from Baldwin's "Old Ironsides," it seems strange that one could be taken for the other.

The writer of this article was present from the first work on "Old Ironsides" until the driving-wheels were raised and steam applied successfully. The occasion was one of a half-holiday at Baldwin's Works, which were then in Lodge Alley, in the rear of the Masonic Hall, late the Temple Theatre. While this was not the first locomotive engine built in this country, it is believed to be the first successful attempt in that line. It resembles those now in use from the same works, which only differ (to speak generally) in weight and number of driving-wheels and the addition of a truck.

It is strange that no drawing of "Old Ironsides" appears in Knight's "American Mechanical Dictionary," where, under the head of Locomotives, will be found numerous sketches, among which is that of the "Rocket" of Stephenson, which, as we have said, is erroneously put in the Magazine for the Baldwin engine.

This correction is due not only to the memory of the late M. W. Baldwin, but also to the honor of an American enterprise founded by him, and now grown into a large and flourishing industry in Philadelphia.

We give a drawing of "Old Ironsides."



"OLD IRONSIDES."

WHERE THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION MET.

BY JOHN BACH McMASTER.

In a little pamphlet, published in 1876, and entitled "Carpenters' Hall and its Historic Memories," the statement is made that the Constitution of the United States was framed in that building. "In 1787," says the writer, "sundry deputies of the convention to frame a Constitution for the United States appeared at the State House, but a majority not being present, adjourned from day to day. A quorum having arrived, they held their sessions for [from?] that time in the Carpenters' Hall," where "they deliberated with closed doors, and at the end of four months agreed upon a Constitution for the United States of America, making the Carpenters' Hall memorial [memorable?] both for the first effort to obtain a redress of grievances from the Mother Country, and the place where the Fathers of the Republic changed by the Constitution a loose league of separate States into a powerful nation." P. 19.

The "Fathers of the Republic," unhappily, never sat in Carpenters' Hall. The Constitution was framed in the State House, and for this we have the authority of Benjamin Franklin. In a letter to his sister, dated September 20, 1787, he says, "The Convention finished the 17th Instant. I attended the Business of it five Hours in every Day from the Beginning, which is something more than four months. You may judge from thence that my health continues; some tell me I look better, & they suppose the daily Exercise of going & returning from the State house has done me good."

THE SIEGE OF FORT MIFFLIN.

[The following "Materials for an Account of the Taking of Fort Mifflin—from the 28th of September to the 16th of November, 1778"—is taken from *The United States Magazine* for May, 1779, edited by Hugh Montgomery Brackenridge, and "printed and sold by Francis Bailey, in Front Street."—ED.]

The British army was in possession of Philadelphia, but the communication was not open with their fleet, and Gen. Washington, leaving the town, had taken care to put a garrison in Fort Mifflin, not as strong as the importance and exigencies of the place did require, but such as the situation of his army could afford.

Fort Mifflin was nothing more than a wooden fort, quite unfit to support a siege. The enclosure was of pallisades on the side of Province Island; and a wall without terriplain on the side of New Jersey, very dangerous for the splinters; and in front, opposite to Hog Island, a water-battery of 16 guns, 18-pounders, and one 32-pounder.

The enemy were not unacquainted with the miserable situation of the fort; and their chief engineer Montresor, who had been employed in its construction, knew its weakness and the most proper means to reduce it. Accordingly, as soon as the end of September, a strong body of their army was employed on Province Island, to raise batteries against the fort, and covering works upon the heights in their rear, for their protection against the attacks that might possibly happen from Gen. Washington by the side of Derby.

The garrison of the fort was quite inadequate to its extensiveness and the heavy duty, which required 1500 men, instead of 500, which had been left for the defence of that place, and two thirds of these were Jersey militia.

Col. Smith the commandant of the fort, Major Fleury

chief engineer, were thoroughly acquainted with the insufficiency of the garrison, and the bad situation of the place; but it was to be defended to the last extremity.

About the beginning of October, the enemy on Province Island opened two mortars, and three heavy guns against the southwest block-house, and leaving these two batteries unsupported, gave an opportunity to Col. Smith to order a sally above and below, and the two parties supported by the gallies under commodore Hazlewood, landed on the beach of Province Island, and stormed the battery, which was defended by two officers and 60 British, who surrendered themselves, and were carried into the fort before the enemy's guards could attack our party, but not before the guns were spiked up.

That small check caused the enemy to be more cautious, and the guard of their trenches was afterwards so strong that it became impossible to make any other attempt.

In the meantime the enemy's batteries had got ready, and about the 10th of October two bomb batteries, several howitzers, three gun batteries, one of six guns 24 pounders, between the two lowest block-houses, the other at the hospital wharf, of five 24 pounders, and one intermediary upon the little wharf of communication between Province and Mud Islands.

A bridge of boats was besides made at the lower ferry, for the communication between the division at the trenches, and the main camp at Philadelphia. Two other batteries were likewise raised on the point of land, at the mouth of the Schuylkill, to cut off the upper navigation of the river.

The besieged were not inactive during this time. They raised a two 18-pounder battery against the enemy's main battery, and another of two 8-pounders to annoy the battery on the wharf; they secured their magazine against shells; they made several traverses in their water battery, which was enfiladed on all sides, and especially on the rear, by the hospital battery. They endeavored to cover themselves against the shots of Province Island, and digged in the inside of the fort a square entrenchment enforced with casks

filled with earth; but could not find any means to be secured against bombs and carcases. As it was very much to be feared that a storm would be attempted they surrounded the fort with *wolf-holes* and vertical pickets, to render the approaches more difficult, and make up the number of the defenders.

From the 10th of October to the 21st, a severe fire was kept up; the two west block-houses were ruined, and the north one blown up by the fall of several shells; and the enemy seeing the breaches made to the pallisades, hoped to be soon in possession of the fort, and as it was very important for their remaining in Philadelphia, that the communication be open, they determined a general storm on Mud Island the 22d of October.

Previous to it, in the evening of the 21st, the Hessian brigade crossed at Cooper's ferry, and by the road of Haddonfield, came to storm fort Mercer on the Jersey shore, about 1500 yards north east of fort Mifflin, and up the river.

The attack was so rash, that even success could not justify its temerity. The parapet was high, the ditch deep, a row of strong pallisades sallied out from the parapet, a blockhouse on the south side overlooked all the ground round the fort, which was surrounded with a double abattis.

Before the storm of the fort was attempted, Col. Donop sent a flag to Col. Green who commanded in the fort, threatning to put the garrison to the sword if he did not surrender it immediately. Col. Green answered with disdain. That he would defend it till the last drop of his blood. About an hour before night the attack was begun on the north and on the south side.

Both the attacks were such as was expected. The artillery and musketry of the fort, and the heavy guns of the gallies, poured grape shot and cannon balls upon them, and made great slaughter. They advanced as far as the abattis, but they could not remove it; and being repulsed with great loss, they left their commanding officer dying in the glacis, and retreated with hurry and confusion. They rallied in

the woods; and leaving their wounded and dead, about three hundred, in the hands of the victors, retired to Philadelphia the same night.

Col. Green and all the officers who had shewed so much courage in repulsing the enemy, treated the wounded with as much humanity. Col. Donop was attended with the greatest care; he died a few days after the action, and told Major Duplessys, who commanded the artillery in the fort, *I fall a victim to my own ambition, and to the avarice of my prince; but full of thankfulness for the good treatment I have received from my generous enemy.* He was buried with the honours of war, and the glory of Col. Green was increased by his generosity.

The morning after the attack upon fort Mercer, it was fort Mifflin's turn; and on the 22d about nine o'clock the ships Eagle, Somerset, Isis, Augusta, Pearl, Liverpool, and several frigates, with a galley, came up to the chevaux de frize, five hundred yards from the fort. At the same time, the land batteries, the fort batteries, and the American gallies, and the British squadron engaged, and one of the most solemn actions commenced, that may be seen by a soldier's eye.

The spectacle was magnificent. To see at once, a river covered with ships,—four great fire ships in blaze, floating on the water,—the islands and the main covered with smoke and fire,—part of the English army drawn up in battle array on Province Island, ready to throw themselves into boats, to storm the fort, which appeared involved with fire, and was the prize of the day.

The firing lasted till noon with relentless fury; the fort frequently fired red hot balls, and either by chance or good luck of one of these shots, the Augusta, a 64-gun ship, the nearest to the battery, suddenly took fire at the stern; in a moment she was in a blaze, and soon after blew up with a thundering noise, before the enemy could take out all their hands. A moment after, the Merlin, a 22-gun frigate, ran ashore below the Augusta, and, as she could not be removed from the explosion, took fire, and also blew up.

The other ships, frightened by the fate of these two, retired below Hog Island; and the land batteries (which had hoisted the bloody flag, to warn the garrison that they were not to expect any quarter) continued their firing till the evening. The troops that were to storm the fort did not attempt it; and the victory remained to the fort and the gallies. Col. Smith, who had been sometime superseded in his command by the baron d'Arand, a Prussian officer, got the command again, by his absence occasioned by sickness. The garrison was very much decreased by the dead, wounded and sick, and it was thought necessary to relieve part of it, and some Virginia and Pennsylvania troops took place of the militia. The fatigue in a place where no body could sleep, on account of the numerous shells, the garrison not having any covering, was as great as the danger. The salt provisions, the water in which they were obliged to walk to the knees, the cold nights, and especially the want of sleep, turned the men to the hospital.

The inclemency of the season, almost insupportable in the fort, was very troublesome to the enemy. In the beginning of the siege, the garrison had opened the beach of Province Island, in order to overflow it. The enemy filled up the beach again, but not with sufficient care; for a heavy storm with north east wind, raised the water so high, and increased its strength so much, that it broke the beach, and almost overflowed the island. Mud Island was drowned as much as the opposite shore. The water was two feet deep in the fort, and all the barracs that yet remained were filled with it; and the fire from either side was neither heavy nor continual.

The enemy considering that if the fort was not taken or destroyed, they would be obliged to evacuate Philadelphia, made new and stronger batteries, and about the 8th of November, kept up an incessant fire against the fort. All the pallisades were broken down, the block houses ruined, the ditch filled up with mud by the last strong tides. Capt. Treat, who distinguished himself by his bravery, and his lieutenant were killed, the garrison exhausted and re-

duced, Col. Smith wounded, who went out of the fort with the old garrison, being relieved by Major Thayer, with some New England troops. M. Fleury would not be relieved, but remained with the new garrison, and under the three commanding officers successively.

The enemy were now persuaded that the promises of their engineer Montresor, who had constructed the fort, and had boasted at the beginning that he would reduce it in a few days, were vain, and expecting very little from their land batteries, depended upon their fleet, and cut down a large Indiaman, as a floating battery.

The channel between Hog and Tinicum islands had not been stopped. The tide broken by the chevaux de frize in the main channel, had opened a new current on that side, where the river was deeper than it was thought to be.

The siege had already lasted from the 27th of September till the 15th of November. All was destroyed by the carcases, shells, and balls. On the 15th of that month, the enemy made a furious attack by the river, and land and floating batteries on the fort.

The ships came as near to the fort as possible in the main channel, and the Vigilant, carrying twenty 24-pounders, came up under the protection of the land batteries, behind Hog Island, and anchored forty yards from the angle of the battery. Fort Mifflin had been so much exposed on that side, that on it did not remain a single gun. Major Thayer ordered the 32-pounder to be carried there, which was effected with great trouble and danger. Before the Vigilant began to fire, that single gun put fourteen shots in her board. But as soon as she was at anchor, and began to play, all resistance became impossible. In three or four broadsides, not only the parapet and the carriages, but even the iron of the guns themselves were broken, the platform destroyed, and the traverses beat down, and in half an hour, not a gun in the fort was able to fire. Soon after the Vigilant, a sloop of war carrying eighteen guns came up, and anchoring above her, played against the fort all the afternoon.

The gallies were in the meantime employed against the ships, and the shells pouring upon the fort from Province Island, they were not able to give us any assistance. In this critical situation a storm was expected all the afternoon. The garrison, buried in ruins, unable to retreat during the day, and unwilling to do it, as long as they could expect reinforcements, had not any expectation but to sell their lives as dear as they could. However the enemy did not profit of that moment. Major Thayer assembled a council of war in the midst of the firing, a little before night. It was impossible to defend the fort with so small a force, and it was determined to call for a reinforcement from fort Mercer, and if they could not reinforce us, to evacuate the fort.

Before the council of war broke up, Major Fleury, who commanded the infantry of the battery that day, and Major Talbot were wounded by the bursting of a shell, and an officer of artillery killed.

At ten o'clock, no reinforcement came from Jersey, but boats were sent for to carry us off. It was become impossible to defend the fort any longer. Open on all sides, without a single gun, it was no longer a defence for the river.

Major Thayer evacuated the fort with a degree of firmness equal to the bravery of his defence. He set fire to the remains of the platform and barrac, and with less than two hundred men, having carried off all the wounded, he arrived at fort Mercer about one o'clock in the morning, being the last man that left the fort.

The enemy took possession of the fort half an hour after the garrison had left it.

PHILADELPHIA SOCIETY IN 1804.

[The following extracts are taken from the diary of Hon. Jonathan Mason of a journey he made with his family in his own carriage from Boston to Savannah, Georgia, in the winter of 1804–5. The diary is published in the "Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society," Vol. II., second series. Mr. Mason was a native of Boston, graduated at Princeton in 1774, read law with Josiah Quincy, Jr., and was admitted to practice in 1779. He served his State with ability in the Assembly, in the Senate of the United States, 1800–3, and as Representative in Congress, 1817–21. He died in Boston, November 1, 1831.—ED.]

Thursday.—The weather still continues as good, and with ease we rode into Philadelphia by three o'clock. Stopped at Mrs. Lawson's but could not be accommodated to my mind, and accordingly removed to Mrs. Jones's, between Seventh and Eighth Streets. The country round astonishingly improving, and a very fine turnpike for thirteen miles and intended for Trenton.

Friday.—Passed the evening at G[eorge] Harrison's; called at the Museum [Peale's] with my daughters, and passed the day generally in receiving visits and rambling [about] the city. Received letter from Mr. Perkins, and one from Susan and Jonathan. Wrote to Ann Barry and Mr. Perkins.

Monday.—Visited the Hospital and Philosophy Hall. Invited to tea by R. Peters and lady, but engaged to dine by T. Willing and lady.

Tuesday.—Passed the evening at Mr. Dallas's,—a Gent, so called. Mrs. Cadwallader, Miss Biddle, and Miss Bird, with a Mr. Miller, sang glees and catches and trios to admiration.

Wednesday.—Dined with Mr. Dallas, and passed the evening at theatre.

The increase of this city is still astonishing. I am persuaded, though the citizens deny it, that they do not trade so much or so well as New York, and that their commercial

capital is lessening; yet having been in the habit of building for several years past, the masons and carpenters and tradesmen from their past earnings are able and obliged to employ their journeymen and themselves in putting up houses for rent and sale. There is not a gentleman in the city that has built this year past, and yet whole squares have been covered during that time; five hundred houses the last year. The circle and the beauty of ladies of New York bear no comparison with this city. I am repeatedly reminded of this observation. The ladies here resemble their city; pretty, regular, and refined. Their beaux must be imported, for at this moment they are only as one to five in numbers, and [as] ordinary as they are scarce. I can say nothing in behalf of the young men who are growing up. Their scarcity gives them advantages which they do not improve. A stranger passing through does not hear of politics. The Federalists are beaten and out of date and conversation. There is a third party who are opposing Governor McKean, and who will finally overthrow him. Next month the four Judges of the Supreme Court—men of respectability, integrity, and talent, gray in the service of their country—are to be tried upon an impeachment for having acted oppressively in punishing a Republican for contempt of court. This State [is] under the control of ignorance and Jacobinism. If it changes, it must be for the better, and perhaps it may be the first to let a little *blood.*

Visited the gunboats which are building. What they are and what they are for, nobody seems to know. They apologize for that evident enmity which the Southern people possess to a navy. Their day must be short; and the growth of this country and its demands, in a very few years, will scout all such feeble puerile performances. A navy must grow out of our woods, and ride in our harbors, or our trade will not be protected and our country forever insulted. We are verging fast to that state of things when there must be a new mixture, and out of which will come new combinations, perhaps energetic, stable, and with the properties of durability.

Thursday.—Dined with Mr. G. Harrison, and passed the evening very pleasantly at the Assembly. Again reminded, by the presence of many lovely women, of their superiority, in beauty, affability, and manners, to those of New York. A man would suppose that where so much worth was so visible, there would be more matrimony, but the reverse is true; and among many, one cause is the dress and extravagant ideas of the ladies themselves. The generality of young men of our country are not able to support the rank and grade which the ladies assume, particularly in dress; and they are so easy of access, so naked in their charms, that they destroy and satiate desire where they would wish to enkindle it.

Friday.—Dined with Mr. Breck, and passed the evening there. A very large set of ladies and gentlemen in the evening, with good music.

Saturday.—Dined with Mr. Richard Willing, and passed the evening at Mrs. Jacksons's. The fine women of this city are, in the estimation of the young gentlemen, Miss Willcox, Miss Boardley, Miss Keene, Miss Stewart. There are innumerable pretty ones, but not all of them accomplished. To do common justice, there are many and more than enough to make society happy and sought after,—many more than in any city in America.

Sunday.—Dined with Mr. Thomas Butler, and passed the evening with Mrs. Edwards and Miss Clarkson; prettily entertained at both these places. Their tea-parties abound with ladies and good music, duets and trios, with young ladies and gentlemen. Mr. Nicholas and Mr. Miller, two of the finest singers I have for a long time heard, perhaps not equalled since the days of Captain Phillips. This evening also much gratified with the society of Mrs. Izard, or the Widow Shippen, whose prophecy and dream that in the course of her life she should have eighteen feet of husband has come to pass, her third and present husband making, with the two preceding ones eighteen [feet] three inches.

Monday.—Disappointed of all invitation (having refused several) in expectation of attending a splendid party (dance)

at the Marquis Casa Yrujo's, to which we had been early invited. The ambassador himself waited upon us; but the lady (Miss Sally McKean that was) expected the first compliment of [a] call from Mrs. Mason, to which I could not consent;—in my estimation it being etiquette false, foolish, and assumed. We accordingly gave up her party and attended the theatre.

Tuesday.—Dined with Mr. Paul Sieman, a bachelor, who gave a splendid entertainment to a party of ladies and gentlemen in compliment to Mrs. M——. We passed the beginning [of] the evening with our friend Harrison, and after supper went to a private dance given by the Miss Gratzes, three pretty and accomplished Jewesses.

On Wednesday morning, in a snow-storm not troublesome we left the city of Philadelphia, . . .

GENERAL BRADDOCK'S CAMPAIGN.

[The writer of the following letter, William Johnston, was a commissariat officer attached to the expedition against Fort Du Quesne. Captain Orme, to whose care the letter was committed, was an aide-de-camp to General Braddock. His "Journal" will be found in Vol. V., Memoirs of the Hist. Soc. Penna. The letter is copied from *The English Historical Review*.—ED.]

DEAR FRANK,—I did myself the pleasure of writing to you soon after my arrival at Williamsburgh, in Virginia, the later end of March last.

The 10th of June last Gen. Braddock with the troops under his command, consisting of about 2300 men, marched from Fort Cumberland towards Fort Du Quesne, which is about 114 miles distant from Fort Cumberland, but finding his march greatly obstructed by a great number of provision waggons and other carriages for stores that we had with us, we moved but slowly, being obliged to cut a road through a wilderness and level little mountains to bring our carriages etc. forward. These difficulties and obstructions induced the general to make a division of our little army that he might march with more expedition; accordingly at the Little Meadows about 20 miles from Fort Cumberland, he pursued his march with about 1200 men, taking no more baggage or stores than what was absolutely necessary, and left the command of the remaining part of the army to Col. Dunbar, with a great number of provision waggons etc., who had orders to march after as fast as possible. In this last division I march'd with the military chest, and it was very fortunate that I did, as it afterwards proved.

In this manner we pursued our route through a desolate country, uninhabited by anything but wild Indians, bears, and rattlesnakes, and as we had most of the waggons with

our detachment, and our horses greatly reduced for want of forage, 'twas impossible to keep pace with the general, notwithstanding we made all the expedition we could. As we had not a sufficient number of horses for all our waggons, we were under a necessity to leave a good many behind at every encampment we marched from under a proper guard, and the next day halt to send back horses for those waggons to join us. In this manner we continued our march, sometimes five and sometimes six miles a day, without any interruption from an enemy except from a few straggling French Indians who killed and scalped three or four of our people. By these slow marches the detachment with the general was six days' march in our front, and as he had gone through several dangerous passes, and finding the enemy had not taken any advantage from them, it was imagined they were extremely weak and would not stand a siege, much less meet him in the woods. His detachment marched on cheerfully, passed the Monongahely twice, and when they were within about six miles of the French fort called Du Quesne on the river Ohio, the general's scouts who were at some distance in the front, came back upon the advanced party and told them there were a body of Indians going to attack them, upon which Col. Gage, who commanded the vanguard, formed his men for the attack, which began immediately by a very heavy fire from the enemy which killed and wounded a great number of his men and put the rest in some confusion; nevertheless they fired away but without much execution, the enemy having secured themselves behind trees in such a manner that our people could not see them. The main body advanced immediately, and the action became general for about three hours and a half, during which time we lost a great number of our men. Several attempts were made by our officers to make the men save their fire and advance briskly upon the enemy, but they could not be prevailed upon to do so, and retreated shamefully in great disorder and confusion, leaving to the enemy the artillery, ammunition, provisions, and baggage; nor could they be prevailed upon to stop till they came to

a plantation of Gist's,[1] which is very near thirty miles from the place of action, and there only in parts, many of them proceeding as far as where our detachment was encamped under the command of Col. Dunbar, which is about six miles from Gist's. You may easily imagine I was greatly alarmed and shocked to hear of the general's defeat and to see so many gallant officers wounded and the men coming into our camp in small parties and most of them wounded. The general died of his wounds the 13th of July, being the second day after he joined us. It was a great happiness I was not with the general; if I had, the military chest, vouchers, and all my baggage would have been lost, and myself perhaps knocked on the head.

As our horses were greatly reduced, and having a great number of wounded officers and men which we were obliged to carry in waggons, it was judged necessary that we should destroy a great part of the ammunition and provisions that Col. Dunbar had with him lest it should fall into the enemy's hands, which was done accordingly, and then we proceeded back again to Fort Cumberland with the utmost precipitation.

In this engagement we had about six hundred men killed and wounded. In our retreat I had not my clothes off till we arrived at Fort Cumberland, and lay every night upon a deer-skin on the ground. I did this to accommodate two wounded officers who lay in my tent, and notwithstanding this and other hardships I enjoyed a perfect state of health during the march from and back to Fort Cumberland, excepting a little touch of the flux for a day or two at the Little Meadows, as we marched upwards. Poor Billy Porter has had a tolerable share of health, but I dare say was he in Old England again he would not willingly take another trip to gather laurels upon the banks of the Ohio, nor should I be very solicitous to undertake it if I was to be subject to the same fatigue and hardship; but it is necessary we should sometimes taste these bitters, that we may enjoy the sweets more agreeable.

[1] 1 Parkman, Vol. I. p. 133; also Bancroft, Vol. IV. p. 76.

This much I intended to have sent from Fort Cumberland when we came there, but had not an opportunity, and therefore I shall now continue to give you some account of our march from Fort Cumberland to Philadelphia. After halting about eight days at the fort we proceeded on our march to this place, and arrived here the beginning of this month. Pennsylvania is much the best country of any I have seen since I have been upon the continent, and much more plenty of provisions than Maryland or Virginia. The first town of note we came to in this province was Carlisle, which from a wilderness about eight years ago is now become a flourishing town, a number of good plantations round it, and well supplied with all kinds of provisions. There are about two hundred houses in it, and some very good ones built in a genteel taste. Lancaster is another good town we pass'd thro'; you will not see many inland towns in England so large as this, and none that are so regular, and yet this town I am told is not above twenty-five years' standing, and a most delightful country round it. It is mostly inhabited by Dutch people. From thence we came to Philadelphia, a large and populous city, situated upon a fine river called Delaware, as delightful a situation as ever I saw, and as great hospitality from the inhabitants. Here is an excellent market well supplied with all kinds of provisions twice a week; in short a man may live in this place as comfortably as in any part of the world. The city is well laid out, the streets being all straight at right angles. They have a noble brick building for the Assembly or House of Burgesses, a college for the instruction of youths, originally begun by Mr. Whitfield's followers for a place of worship for him to preach in, but afterwards converted to the above use. A noble church with a fine spire, a number of Quaker's meeting-houses, a very large Presbyterian meeting-house, the largest and first I ever saw with a steeple to it, and many other buildings for Dutch protestants, Calvinists, Lutherans, and Moravians,—in short there are as many different persuasions here as in London, but the most powerful are the Quakers. It gives me un-

easiness that we are to quit this place soon, but such is the fate of those who make a campaign; they must be obedient and subject to command, and we are now under orders to march from hence next Monday for Albany in the province of New York, and from thence God knows where. From the time we get there I shall have travelled from the time of my landing in Virginia at least a thousand miles.

This goes by Captain Orme, who is returning to England. . . . Pray write to me often and direct to me at Philadelphia or New York. . . .

I am, d^r Frank, yours sincerely,

W. J.

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 28, 1755.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN WILLIAM STRAHAN AND DAVID HALL, 1763–1777.

(Continued from Vol. X. page 473.)

January 5, 1769.

Captain Budden having staid longer than I expected, I have sent by him the Magazines for last Month, with some new Pamphlets, which I shall charge in next Invoice. What is sent now amounts only to £81 : 9 : 4 and I know not that any one Thing is omitted. If I have, or if I have left any thing unanswered, you will please to mention it in your next.

On the Death of Sir Francis Gosling, Mr Wilkes was the other Day elected Alderman of this Ward in his room, which is really disgraceful in the last Degree. Where this popular Frenzy will end [God] knows, for it is already carried Lengths which I never expected to see.

My Family join me in wishing you and yours the Compliments of the Season. I am, ever, with the warmest Affection,

Dear Davie
Your affectionate and faithful
Friend & Servant,
WILL: STRAHAN.

January 28, 1769.

Postscript.

Capt Budden having been detained, most unexpectedly, by an Accident to his Eyes, hath not only prevented me from sending you this sooner, but hindered me also from sending my Letter by the last Packett, which I am afraid will be a Disappointment to you, as the News it contains will be stale before it reaches you. But this is an Accident there is now no Help for.

On Monday the 16th the Appeal of Wilkes to the House of Lords against the two Sentences of the Court of Kings

Bench; was heard at the Bar, when the Sentences were unanimously affirmed. I was there. Lord Chief Justice Wilmot, in a very good Speech, delivered his own and the other Judges Opinions, which was very clear and satisfactory. The Cases on both Sides I herewith send you, which will shew you upon what frivolous Pretences he brought his Writ of Error and also upon what Grounds it was set aside.

Last Monday the 23d it was moved by his Friends in the House of Commons, "That John Wilkes Esqr although he is convicted of publishing a Seditious Libel, is entitled to Privilege of Parliament." Upon this Lord North proposed an addition to the Motion (as you will find in the Votes) which being very disagreeable to his Party, they wanted to drop the affair altogether; but without Effect; for upon a Division, it was carried 165 to 71, to put the Question according to the Amendment; and afterwards by 96 to 52 that the Question as first put should not be entered in the Votes. That you may the better understand this, I inclose you an Extract from the Journals of the House so far as relates to this Matter.

Yesterday, being the Day appointed for hearing Wilkes's Petition at the Bar of the Commons, he was brought up, in order to support the Allegations of it. But he was not called to the Bar, for they debated till 12 at Night, Whether they should go into the Merits of his Petition at large, or confine their Enquiry to these two Particulars, *The Alteration of the Record*, and *The Embezzlement of the Public Money*. It was carried for the last, 278 to 131, which is two to one against him. They proceed again next Tuesday.

I should have told you before that they sat last Thursday Night (the 26th) till three in the Morning upon North American Affairs, when they agreed to the Resolutions of the Lords, supporting the Legislative Authority of Parliament over the Colonies, &c. with very little Variation; so that Affairs are not yet in a conciliating Train.

The great Douglas Cause is now hearing from Day to Day, in the House of Peers, and will be finally determined in about a forthnight.

My Wife is still very poorly, and I am myself confined (for the first time this Day) with something very like the Gout.

I spent the Evening yesterday with Dr Franklin at Sir John Pringle's, where were the Duke of Rochfoucault, a very agreeable French Nobleman of the First Rank, David Hume, &c. The Dr is in perfect Health. I am

Dear Davie
Ever Yours
W. S.

LONDON Febry 6, 1769.

DEAR DAVIE

I wrote you a long Letter by Capt Budden, to which I refer. This is chiefly to recommend to your Good Offices the Bearer Mr Peter Wynne; by Trade a Stationer, who comes over to your Country with a little Investment of Linen, &c. but does not intend to stay there. He is a worthy Lad; and as you may be of great Use to him, by giving him your best Advice, without much Trouble to yourself, I am sure you will readily take some Notice of him. He is an absolute Stranger, and will thankfully listen to what you say.

You will wonder how it comes that I have written to you so seldom of late; at a time too when you expect so much News to be stirring. The Truth is, my Time is wholly engrossed with one Thing or other, the Doors of the House of Co are now shut against every body but Members, and lastly, I am quite sick of Politicks, which is become so futile a Subject in this Country, that there is no thinking on it with any Degree of Patience. Whilst the Legislature hath many important Matters to attend to, which require immediate Discussion, the Commons were employed all last Week, night and day (for they sat every Day till 2, 3, or 4 in the Morning) upon that pitiful Fellow Wilkes, and on Saturday (the 4th) he was expelled between 2 and 3 in the Morning. He behaved with great Audacity before the House, and avowed the prefatory Remarks to Lord Weymouth's Letter, which is the first Reason assigned in the

following Resolution for his Expulsion, which is copied from their Journals, viz.

"That John Wilkes Esqr a Member of this House who hath at the Bar of this House confessed himself to be the Author and Publisher of what this House has resolved to be an insolent, scandalous, and seditious Libel, and who has been convicted in the Court of Kings Bench of having printed and published a seditious Libel, and three obscene and impious Libels, and by the Judgement of the said Court has been sentenced to undergo twenty two Months Imprisonment, and is now in Execution under the said Judgment, be expelled this House."

This Resolution was carried, upon a Division, by 219 to 137, and a New Writ is issued for electing another Member in his room. But as they past no Vote of Disqualification, he will doubtless be rechosen; and in that Case Business will be, in part, to do over again; so far I mean as respects the Propriety of his Sitting in the House.

George Grenville was among those who voted against his Expulsion; observing, that upon the first Point respecting Lord Weymouth, it was an Offence against a private Man, and was cognizable and punishable by the Common Law; and that with regard to the other two, he was now suffering the Judgement of the Court of King's Bench: That he wished lenitive Measures to be followed, in order to quiet the Minds of the Public, and to render him of no Consequence, and that Wilkes himself was so sensible of this, that he wished for nothing more ardently than Persecution, and would be disappointed, if he had it not.

Thus this Matter stands at present. Wilkes hath since published a most impudent Address to the Freeholders of Middlesex, a Copy of which, if I can procure one; I will inclose to you. He seems now to be absolutely desperate, and resolved either to bring down upon his Head the whole Vengeance of the Legislature, or to bully the Ministry into an Accommodation with him. We shall see how it will terminate.

All my Family are purely, except my poor Wife, who

still continues extremely ill. We all join in cordial Remembrance of you and yours. I am ever, with wonted Esteem and Affection,

Dear Davie
Most heartily Yours
WILL: STRAHAN.

By the Favour of
Mr. Peter Wynne
Q. D. C.

LONDON May 22, 1769.

DEAR DAVIE

My last to you was dated March 21, by the Fame, Capt Creighton, by whom I sent Goods to the Amount of £57:12:5 and inclosed a Copy of our Account Current. I also acknowleged the Receit of yours of Janry 28th inclosing a Bill on Patrick and Robert Macky for £200, which I herewith return you protested for Non-payment, that you may recover the Money of the Drawers. The Protest cost 5s. 9d. This Disappointment you will be more vexed at than I am; but such Accidents will now and then happen, tho' very few of your Bills are not duly honoured. The Damages you recover on these Occasions, I think are considerable, and will make some Amends. The Drawers, your Friend Mr Wharton (whom by the bye I like extremely) told me last Night are in good Credit with you.—Your last Order will now be ready for shipping in a few Days.

As the Session of Parliament is now brought to a Conclusion, you will doubtless expect a deal of Politicks; but I am afraid it is not in my Power to give you much Satisfaction upon that Subject. You see they are separated without repealing the Act you complain of, which I am really sorry for, and would, if I had been able, have prevented, as you will see by the inclosed Copy of a Letter, which I sent to a Friend of mine connected with the Ministry, about a Month ago, but without Effect, it having been before that time, it seems, otherwise determined. I am sorry for it on many Accounts; besides that I think the Repeal would have been granted with a much better Grace this Year than in next or any subsequent Session. However, you will have

heard by the same Packett that brings you the King's Speech, which appears to speak a different Language, that if the Behaviour of the Colonies doth not prevent it, the Repeal will certainly take place next Session.—And I firmly believe it will:—Of course, all this Misunderstanding between us will, I hope, be at an End.—I know some People here whom you are not unacquainted with, think you ought by no means to place any Confidence in the vague Promises of a Ministry so seemingly contrary to the Sentiments delivered by the King. But I am of a quite different Opinion; and Time only can shew who is in the right.

With regard to Mr Wilkes, and those contemptible Fellows who with the most unheard of Audacity have erected themselves into a Tribunal of Enquiry into the Conduct of all the Branches of the Legislature, I need not repeat to you what all our Newspapers have been stuffed with for many Months past. You will doubtless be astonished at their Boldness, and the Lenity or Forbearance, or Timidity, or —what shall I call it?—of the Ministry. It is indeed equally unaccountable and unprecedented.—However, their Operations seem now to be nearly at an end. Wilkes, as I fortold in my Letter of March 11, is thrown out of the House of Commons, and Sutterel, tho' he had few votes, declared duly elected in his Stead. The Petition to the King, enumerating a Legion of Grievances, so long talked of, has not yet found its way to the Throne; and that worthy Society are now beginning to disunite and quarrel among themselves; in particular, about the Disposal of the Money they had collected for their factious Purposes; some wanting to apply it wholly to Wilkes's Use, others towards the General Support of our invaded Liberties, which they pretend to be now in such imminent Danger. It must puzzle you, at so great a Distance, when we who are upon the Spot are at a Loss to divine what these People drive at. One way to form a Judgement of them is from the Characters of their Leaders, which I shall here give you in a few Words.—*Sawbridge* is Brother to Mrs Macaulay the Historian, and of course a high Republican—*Horn* is a Mad Fanatick in Politicks, who has

really raved himself into an Opinion that our Liberties are in Danger.—*Townsend*, who owes his whole Estate in Middlesex to the Bounty of the present King (for it was lapsed to the Crown) wants to overturn the present Ministry at any rate, and to attain that End is guilty of the blackest Ingratitude.—And *Bellos*, is a turbulent factious Scoundrel, who loves to fish in troubled Waters, and delights in Mischief for Mischief's Sake. His Motto ought to be that of Satan's in Milton, *Evil be thou my Good.*—Such being the true Characters of the Chiefs, by whom the Rabble of London and Middlesex are led by the Nose, I thence conclude, that their sole Aim is, first to put everything into Confusion; next, to overturn the Ministry for the time being; and lastly, if the former cannot be accomplished, to destroy the very Constitution itself, and establish, in its place, a Republic; of which they themselves shall be the leading Members. Vain Attempt!—which nothing but the last Degree of Turpitude, and an overweaning Conceit of their own Consequence, could ever have induced them to think of. As for Wilkes, whom they seem to have only made a Fool of, he is like now to sink into Oblivion, and to be left in the Lurch by his pretended Abettors, unless some strange unlooked-for Accident should once more recall him into Notice. G. Grenville made a long Speech in his favour the last Day of the Session, to the Astonishment of everybody that heard him, and which hath lost him the few Friends his former unworthy Conduct had left him; so that I see not the least Sign of a Change of Ministry. On the contrary, the Duke of Grafton appears to be stronger every Day, and will receive no contemptible Acquisition of Power, from his Alliance to the Duke of Bedford, whose Niece he is to marry in a few Days.—Hawke and Granby, two popular Men, preside over the Navy and Army, and the other Departments of Administration are mostly filled with Men equal to any who are now out of Place, and who rank themselves among the Patriots of the present Day.

From the East Indies we have late Accounts, that a War is kindling there, which, whatever be its final Determina-

tion, will certainly be attended with an enormous Expence to the Company, which has made their Stock already sink a little. Indeed I always considered our Territory there as held upon a most precarious Tenor.—Russia, Turkey, and Poland are now in Arms; the last, in particular, is in the saddest Situation that can well be imagined. How soon the flames of War may spread farther, it is not easy to say. Our best Security lies in our Situation as an Island, in our superior naval Force; and above all, in the Debility and Poverty of our most potent Neighbours the French, whose Finances are in a much worse Condition than our own, enormous as our national Debt is now become. Lord Chatham, whom I have so often mentioned to you, is I am lately well informed in such a State of Health, as leaves no Room to expect he will ever more intermeddle in public Affairs.—Our Countryman Widderburn has figured away of late as a flaming Patriot; and hath in the heat of his Zeal thrown up his Seat in Parliament, which he had accepted of Sir Lawrence Dundas on condition of his supporting the Administration. He thought fit some time since to attach himself to George Grenville, and hopes not only to be brought in again, before the Parliament re-assembles, through his and Lord Temple's Interest, but to be raised to the highest Stations of the Law when they get into Power. As far as I can see, he has judged ill. But there is no Matter; for I have no Opinion of his Heart, tho' he is a very clever Lawyer. I remember nothing new to tell you of the other Personages now upon the Stage.

We are all pretty well at home just now. I am and have been for some time very busy, of which you may hear more in my next. But I am ever, with all our best Wishes and kindest Respects to you and yours,

My dear old Friend

Yours most affectionately

WILL: STRAHAN

Via New York
By the Hope,
Capt. Davis
Q. D. C.

Copy of a Letter to ———

DEAR SIR

Tho' I know you are extremely busy, yet I cannot help interrupting you, to communicate what, if it merits any attention, admits of no delay.

I see very clearly that our American Deputies are growing more and more serious every day, and dread the Consequences during the Summer. Even the most moderate of the Colonists have already resolved to import no more British Goods, till this late Act is repealed. Before another Session of Parliament this will have done irremediable Mischief, and will divert the Trade from its natural Channel, which can never be again wholly recovered. This is no idle or illgrounded Fear, but Demonstration itself. The effect this will have upon the Manufacturers all over the Kingdom, and upon those whose very being depends upon the Continuance of our Exports to the Colonies, it is dreadful to think of. But what adds much to my Fears on this Occasion is, that this real Grievance will be unavoidably blended with the absurd and groundless Complaints of the Bill of Rights Gentlemen, and will altogether create such an universal Ferment and Dissatisfaction as will not only overturn the Ministry for the time being, but greatly endanger the Government and Constitution itself.—I must repeat it, this is no ill-grounded Apprehension.

Now, as this Act will, in the End, I am afraid, be found not to be tenable, as it is generally expected it will be repealed next Session, and as it is doubtless, more advisable to drop it before all the bad Consequences apprehended from it have actually taken place, what I would humbly propose, would be the bringing in a Bill immediately to repeal it before the Houses break up. This Measure, whatever may be urged against it, (and I know much may be said with great Plausibility) will have many salutary Effects. It will endear this Parliament to the Colonies; it will render the King and the Ministry extremely popular with a great Body of the People at home, and it will deprive Wilkes and the other Incen-

diaries of their best and only Support, and render all their wicked Industry inefficient. Are not these desirable Objects, and worth the making some Sacrifice, at this Juncture, to obtain? But I will not tire you with endeavouring to display a Situation which you can see and comprehend infinitely better than I can. I will only add, that I think the Crisis truly alarming, and that what I have said arises from the strongest Conviction that such a Remedy ought quickly to be applied to prevent the further Progress of these growing Dissentions. If you agree with me; and deem this worth communicating to any of those whom it more immediately concerns, well. If not, I cannot help it. I could not be easy till I had given you this Trouble, I hope from the best Motive—an anxious Concern for the untoward Situation of our Country. And it affords me one other Opportunity of assuring you how sincerely I am, &c.

W. S.

April 23, 1769.

Dear Davie

I wrote you the 11th of last Month by the Packett, to which I refer; since which I have none from you. Your Order is getting ready very fast, and will come by the first Ships that sail. But there is yet nothing done in your Affairs. The Parliament have hitherto been squabbling about the Middlesex Election, and spending whole Days and Nights almost in the most frivolous Debates on that thread-bare Subject, the Opposition having nothing else to harp upon. This is a most shameful and inexcusable Neglect of the public Business; but I hope all this Wrangling and Bustle is nearly at an End, and that the Steadiness of the King will at length tire out the Malcontents, and oblige them to Submit to Reason.

This Packett will bring you the News of the Chancellor's Dismission, the *sudden* Death of Mr Yorke who was appointed to succeed him, and the Resignation of the Duke of Grafton in favour of Lord North (who is likely to fill his Place very ably) which proceeded solely from his Dislike to

the unavoidable Fatigues of that Station; for he is still as steady a Friend to the Ministry as before. Upon all these Heads it is needless for me to enlarge. Indeed I have not time for it; being at present exceedingly hurried, by the Patent commencing in the Middle of a Session of Parliament, which meeting late; brings all the Acts to be printed together on the Shortest Notice. I am now fairly begun in that new Line of Business, and have little Doubt of its answering every reasonable Expectation. I had the Pleasure to hear the other Day, that the King spoke very handsomely of me to a friend of mine near his Person; in terms indeed, which were I to repeat to you, would look somewhat savouring of Vanity.—I will therefore suppress them, and return to the old Subject of Politics, which will be more to the Purpose, as your Thirst after News must now be very ardent.—I wish I could send you somewhat truly comfortable.

I was present at a long Debate in the House of Lords on the 3d Instant, which lasted till near three in the Morning. Inclosed I send you their Protest on that Occasion.—The Question was moved by Lord Rockingham, *That the House of Commons, in the Exercise of its Indicature*, &c. (See the Protest) which after many long Speeches from Lords Chatham, Camden, Richmond, Littelton, Shelbourne, Temple, &c. on one Side, and Grafton, Egmont, Gower, Marchmont, Mansfield, Sandwich, &c. &c. on the other, was disagreed to on a Division, by 96 to 47. It is not in my Power to give you the Particulars of so diffuse and tedious a Debate. I can only assure you, that Chatham and Temple made a Most contemptible Figure, and endeavoured with all their might to blow the Horn of Sedition.

Lord Marchmont, at length, to get rid entirely of a Question with which the opposing Lords seemed determined to harass the Ministry during the whole Session, or till they forced themselves into Power, moved the other Resolution, *That any Resolution of this House, directly or indirectly impeaching a Judgement of the House of Commons, &c.* which instantly put Chatham and Temple into a Rage little short of Mad-

ness. This, you see, was fairly dismissing this frivolous Dispute altogether, and nettled the opposite Party beyond all Bounds. Chatham moved to adjourn the Debate for a few Days; but this was disagreed to, on a Division in which Proxies were included, by 106 to 49.—The main Question, then, past without a Division.

So far the Ministry are victorious, and with Justice. The Duke of Grafton spoke extremely well, and said that whether in or out of Place, he should give the present Ministry every Assistance in his power, as he knew it to be composed of Men, who had a just Regard to the Constitution, and meant nothing less than to wound it in any Sense whatever. Lord Gower charged Camden with concealing his Opinion of the Middlesex Election while in Office, and with several times leaving the Council Table when that matter was about to be agitated there, at the same time that he betrayed the King's Counsels by conferring at full-length with Lord Chatham, an Enemy to the King's Servants, and discovering to him his whole Mind upon the Subject, (as Lord Chatham had just before, inadvertently told them)—Camden had nothing specious to offer against this Charge. Lord Mansfield behaved with more Courage than usual; and replied to the Opposing Lords with great Strength of Argument once and again. He observed, that there must be somewhere a Court whose Jurisdiction was competent, final, and conclusive, that when such a Court erred, there was no Remedy; that to prevent a Repetition of the like Grievance (if such it was) in future, the only Resource was an Act of the Legislature.—In short, Sense, Argument, and Reason were all on one Side, and Disappointment, Invective, unreasonable Discontent, and the most provoking Quibblings and Evasions were all the Weapons used on the other. Chatham's Motives are notorious. His absurd and boundless Extravagance hath already reduced him to a State of absolute Beggary. He now wants Money to pay his Debts, and to be able to exist. This can only be come at, by getting into Power, and laying the Public under large Contributions. I really am wholly at a Loss for Words to

convey to you even a faint Idea of his Insolence, his Absurdity, his Petulance, his evasive Digressions, and his most obvious want of Candor in all his Speeches. *Magna Charta*, the *Sturdy Barons of England*, the *old English Constitution*, and other such Phrases, were continually in his Mouth, and ushered in without either Sense or Meaning, merely to decorate his Harangues, which could you but see upon Paper, would shew you his Sophistry in the most striking and contemptible Point of View.—Temple was, in truth, even below Contempt, and Camden little better.

But Camden was the other Day, if possible, more thoroughly exposed, for Lord Hillsborough charged him to his Face with having expressed himself, in a Conversation they had together on the Woolpack, while he (Camden) was hearing a Cause in the House of Lords, highly against the repealed Election of Wilkes for Middlesex, and even saying that the Sheriffs ought to have been sent to Newgate for returning him. This shows that his real Opinion was directly Opposite to that he hath lately adopted, and shews him to be a mere Tool and Engine of Chatham's, who makes him say just what he pleases to enjoin him. His Character is now gone for ever.

A Bill is lately brought into the House of Commons to ascertain the Incapacity of their Members, which will probably come to nothing; and so this strange Matter vanish into Smoke, as it ought to have done long ago. The Duke of Grafton's Resignation strengthens the Hands of Lord North in the Lower House; but still any Defection in the Ministry at this Juncture is weakening and disagreeable. However if they weather this Storm, of which there is now little Doubt, they may yet do extremely well. The King, I am assured from the *best Authority*, is inflexibly firm, and determined to support them. His Indignation to the Grenville Family is now so much increased, and his Aversion to them so deeply rooted, that I am almost inclined to think they will never be able to regain his Favour. Indeed, he hath no Choice left, if he yields, he is thenceforth reduced to a mere Cypher.

As far as I can learn, the Ministry are not inclined to satisfy the North Americans *fully*. The Grounds and Reasons of their Conduct in this important Affair we shall see in the Course of their Debates upon it. I wish it was fairly and happily ended.

We are all pretty well here just now. With the utmost Difficulty I have been able (amidst a thousand Interruptions) to write this Letter; but I thought you would be disappointed in not hearing from me at this critical Period. Our hearty Respects to you and yours, and believe unalterably

Dear Davie
Your faithful and affectionate
Friend and Servant
WILL: STRAHAN

I inclose you a Copy of the first Act of this Session. I hope, ere it concludes, I shall print one entirely to your Mind respecting America.

By the Packett.

(To be continued.)

BATTLE OF GERMANTOWN FROM A BRITISH ACCOUNT.

CONTRIBUTED BY WILLIAM J. POTTS, CAMDEN, N. J.

[The following account of the battle of Germantown is extracted from the letter of a British officer serving with the Hessians in America, dated at Philadelphia, 10 October, 1777, and published in the London *Chronicle*, January 3–6, 1778.—ED.]

Washington had disposed his army (which consisted of about 16,000 men), in four columns; two of which were to attack on our flanks; and as soon as they had engaged our attention, the other two were to join in the centre, and force their way through German-town into our camp. By some mistake their centre columns began the attack upon a battalion of light infantry, who, with the 40th regiment, were advanced about half a mile in front of the encampment of the army. The light infantry defended themselves for some time with great spirit; but the fog was so thick that they could not distinguish what was opposed to them; the 40th regiment came to their support, and they together, by well-timed and heavy discharges, contrived to advance a great way upon the enemy, who retired, not being aware of the small party that attacked them. However, no reinforcement appearing, and the light infantry ammunition being almost expended, Col. Musgrave, who commanded the 40th reg. and had been sparing of his ammunition, told the light infantry that he would cover their retreat, which he did in a most masterly manner, till he arrived at his old encampment. The light infantry were by this time secure, but the rebels were in the encampment of the 40th regiment, and Colonel Musgrave found himself entirely surrounded, and all means of retreating cut off; without being embarrassed, he immediately ordered his regiment to get into a large

stone house (which had been his quarters) with the greatest expedition possible, but the rebels pressed so close upon their heels, that they must inevitably have entered the house at the same time, if he had not faced the regiment about and given them a fire which checked them enough for him to have time to get his regiment into the house and shut the door.

Musgrave immediately ordered all the window-shutters of the ground floor to be shut, as the enemy's fire would otherwise have been too heavy upon them there: he placed, however, a certain number of men at each window, and at the hall doors, with orders to bayonet every one who should attempt to come in; he disposed of the rest in the two upper stories, and instructed them how to cover themselves, and direct their fire out of the windows. He then told them "That their only safety was in the defence of that house; that if they let the enemy get into it, they would undoubtedly every man be put to death; that it would be an absurdity for any one to think of giving himself up, with hopes of quarters; that their situation was nevertheless by no means a bad one, as there had been instances of only a few men defending an house against numbers; that he had no doubt of their being supported and delivered by our army; but that at all events they must sell themselves as dear as possible to the enemy." By this time the rebels had brought four pieces of cannon (three-pounders) against the house, and with the first shot they burst open both the hall-doors, and wounded some men with the pieces of stone that flew from the wall. Capt. Hains, a brave intelligent officer, who commanded on the ground floor, reported to Col. Musgrave what had happened, and that he had thrown chairs, tables, and any little impediments he could before the door, and that he would endeavor to keep the enemy out as long as he had a single man left: he was very soon put to the test, for the rebels directed their cannon (sometimes loaded with round, sometimes with grape shot) entirely against the upper stories, and sent some of the most daring fellows from the best troops they had, to force their way into the

house under cover of their artillery; to do them justice, they attacked with great intrepidity, but were received with no less firmness; the fire from the upper windows was well directed and continued; the rebels nevertheless advanced, and several of them were killed with bayonets getting in at the windows and upon the steps, attempting to force their way in at the door. During this time our troops had gotten under arms; and the rebels leaving a few men to amuse our army in front, formed along German-town with their principal force, which as soon as general Howe formed, he ordered the regiments from the centre to charge them with bayonets through the town: these orders were executed with expedition, spirit, and good order; the rebels were driven back, and colonel Musgrave relieved, after having defended himself two hours in the house, and having killed about 100 of the enemy on the spot. Upon our troops appearing, the 40th reg. sallied out, and joined in the pursuit.

LETTER OF GENERAL ANTHONY WAYNE.

[The original of the following letter of "Mad Anthony" to Colonel Sharp Delaney is in the autograph collection of Henry Day, Esq., New York, who has kindly furnished a copy for publication.—ED.]

MOUNT JOY 21st May 1778

DEAR SIR,—Various are the reports and many the conjectures about the enemies quiting Phil^a and the place they are Destined for—some say New York, others Halifax—but the more prevailing opinion is the West India Islands—for my own part I am not quite so sanguine as some others, about their avacuating their present post, without first offering us battle,—we were so fully Confident of their being about to Embark last *Monday*—that a Detatchment of upwards of two thousand men under the Marquis *De Lafayette*, was sent down towards their lines to be Ready to take possession of the City as soon as they should quit it—but the *Caitifs* made a forced march the night before last and threw themselves into his rear—and were on the point surrounding him (at seven Oclock in the Morning) before he had the least Intelligence of their movement—however he made a happy escape by passing the Schuylkil at Matsons ford & possessing the *Gulf hills*—the Enemies van made its appearance on the one side as the Marquis's Rear arrived on the other—their numbers by every acct. was about 7000 who had actually thrown themselves in between the Marquis and our Camp—but by moving down towards Phil^a and Crossing at Matsons—he avoided (otherwise) Inevitable Distruction—the Enemy must have effected a march of upwards of twenty miles with that large body of men totally undiscovered thro' the Inattention of the Patrols.

they Returned to Phil^a last evening without either killing or taking a single man of ours. Several Deserters from the Enemy have come in with some Prisoners taken by our

Light Troops and *Indians* hanging on their Rear—the latter at one fire killed five of the Enemie's Horse, and by the war Hollow put the Remainder to flight.

I have always hinted that its my opinion *Mr. Clinton*, will offer us battle—i.e. that after shiping all his stores & heavy artillery he will make a forward move in force, but he will never attack us on this Ground—he will either Retire after a Little Parade, Otherwise by taking post in our Rear near *Moore Hall* Manœuvre us off this Ground.

this is all Conjecture—he may possibly leave this State without this parade—but that some Capital movement will take place in the course of a few days—I am very confident. time alone will determine the object.

I have Rec^d^ a hint from a friend that some Gentlemen of the Committee of Congress who were at Camp were not acquainted with the circumstances of the Court Martial held on me—and that some *Caitifs* had attempted to place it in a very unfavourable point of view. The whole of the proceedings are in the hands of Ric^d^ Peters Esqr. you will do me a particular favour to show it to some of these Gentlemen—for from [what] I can learn it has not been transmitted to Congress—altho' all Others are Regularly sent up.

The Difficulty I experience in preventing some Worthy Officers from Resigning (notwithstanding the *seven years half pay*) together with the Distress and real wants of the troops of this State has almost Determined me to Retire to my *Sabine* field.

Adieu, my Dear Sir & believe
me yours most
Sincerely
ANTY WAYNE

To COL. SHARP DELANEY
Yorktown.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

LETTER OF HON. WILLIAM TILGHMAN TO HON. JASPER YEATES.—

PHILAD^A Nov. 8, 1814.

MY DEAR SIR,—It was not until yesterday that I received your letter of the 1st inst. Having had Occasion to go to Maryland, I returned to the City last Sunday Evening, in order to be ready for Court next morning. I needed not to have been in a hurry to get to Court, for I found that Judge B. had dismissed the Jury which had been summoned for the first period—but in order that I might have something to do, he adjourned the hearing on a Hab. Corp., & on a case of bail, *to be decided by me.* There is another Jury summoned for the 2^d period, which commences on Monday the 21st inst and lasts 3 weeks. I take the 1st week & you the 2 last.

Whether anything will be done, it is impossible to say, but I much doubt it. The instant I can speak with certainty, I will give you notice; but I am sorry that this will not be before Monday the 21st. Many of our Bar are volunteering under Cadwalader. When they will be discharged, is uncertain—the doing of business, will in great measure, depend upon that. I went to the Camp, on my way to Maryland. There is a very fine body of men indeed, & every thing in nice order. The Lawyers complain that they have got no fees for several months past. Business is extinct. Charles Hare has turned soldier, he is appointed volunteer aid of General Gaines who commands in this district. Times are bad indeed—I believe the negotiations for Peace has failed beyond doubt. I understand that Mr. Bayard's family expect him at home this month. It is rumoured to-day, that Lord Hill has gone against New Orleans. I had rather he should be there than here, altho he may strike a very severe blow there. The navigation of the Mississippi is of immense importance & New Orleans is the key of that navigation.

What think you of the debt of the U. S. You need be under no fear, now that Secty Dallas is at the helm we shall have a National Bank certainly. I expect to see you a great Stockholder in it. A little space & a great deal of paper will make out your subscription. I do not like the Convention of the 5 New England States. These People are much discontented. I do not imagine they desire to break up the Union. But I wish they may not insist on some great change in the Constitution, which may throw us into confusion, & encourage the British to persevere in the war. It seems, that at present, the power of G. Britain is predominant in Europe. We have no friends there. Nevertheless France is not satisfied. And if Belgium is taken from her, it is probable that Peace will not last many years. But in the meantime, what is to become of us? Without Commerce, where are we to find money to carry on the war? Treasury notes we shall have in plenty—but they are already depreciated, & will grow worse in proportion to

the increase of Quantity. As to the Bank it will be made up of debts due from the Government.

Boston Bank notes command a premium of *17 per cent* here. These banks continue to make payment *in specie.*

I thank you for your sentiments on the cases held under advisement. We will talk fully of them when we meet—I have not yet had leisure to turn my thoughts to them.

I beg to be remembered very respectfully to Mrs. Yeates, & your family, & am dear Sir

With great regard
Yours sincerely
Wm TILGHMAN.

HON^BL JASPER YEATES.

LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Lancaster County, one of the oldest in Pennsylvania, and rich in historic memories and material, has honored herself by the formation of a local Historical Society. Long spoken of, it has only been during the past two months that the project has become a reality. Several informal meetings were held by about a dozen active spirits, who pushed the matter so energetically that a public meeting was called on Thursday, January 6. There was a large attendance of persons favorable to the project. A constitution was adopted, which declares the purpose of the Society to be "The discovery, collection, preservation, and publication of the history, historical records and data of and relating to Lancaster city and county, the collection and preservation of books, newspapers, maps, genealogies, portraits, paintings, relics, engravings, manuscripts, letters, journals, and any and all materials which may establish or illustrate such history, the growth and progress of population, wealth, education, agriculture, arts, manufactures, and commerce in this city and county."

The organization was fully completed by the election of the following officers and Executive Committee: President, Rev. Dr. J. H. Dubbs, Professor of History and Archæology in Franklin and Marshall College; Vice-Presidents, Samuel Evans, Esq., and Hon. James P. Wickersham, ex-Superintendent of Public Instruction of Pennsylvania; Recording Secretary, A. F. Hostetter, Esq.; Corresponding Secretary, W. W. Greist; Librarian, S. H. Zahm; Treasurer, S. P. Eby, Esq. The Executive Committee consists of T. R. Diffenderffer, W. U. Hensel, Rev. J. Max Hark, J. B. Hipple, R. M. Riley, C. T. Steigewalt, Dr. C. H. Stubbs, Rev. H. A. Brickenstein, S. C. Slaymaker, and P. C. Hiller. The meetings of the Society will be quarterly in January, April, July, and October. The Executive Committee will meet monthly.

T. R. D.

DEUTSCH-AMERIKANISCHES MAGAZIN.—We have received the second (January) number of this new quarterly, containing a number of illustrations, and many valuable and interesting historical papers, largely from the pen of the editor, Herr H. A. Rattermann. The continuation of Dr. Germann's Youthful Career of General Peter Muhlenberg, the editor's biography of Frederick Kapp, and the Döhla journal, with the opening chapters of the history of the German-American newspaper press, will be read with especial interest.

EPITAPHS.—The following inscriptions in the graveyard of St. Michael's Protestant Episcopal Church, Charleston, S. C., were copied in 1874:

In Memory of | John Hazlehurst | Late of this City | Merchant | who | Born in Philadelphia | May 24 1775 | ended a life of Virtue & Usefulness | in Charleston | Septr 18, 1798.

In | Memory of | Caroline Hazlehurst | a daughter of Robert | & Eliza Hazlehurst | aged 2 years & 4 months | Of such are the Kingdom of God.

To | the Memory of Elizabeth Hazlehurst | Deas | who departed this life on the 27th of May 1830 | aged Eleven months. | She was the daughter of Thomas.

WILLIAM J. POTTS.

OBITUARY NOTICES, PENNSYLVANIA GAZETTE.—Elizabeth-Town (New Jersey), January 23, 1764. Last Friday departed this life Miss Mary Eldrington, an old virgin, in the 109th year of her age, she was of an ancient family, born at Eldrington Hall, in Northumberland, Old England, and on the next day she was decently interred in St. John's church yard at Elizabeth-Town. It is remarkable that notwithstanding her great age, she was desirous of getting a husband before she died; and not two years since, nothing would offend her so highly as to tell her that she was too old to be married.

Febry 2, 1764.

On Friday last died here, and on Saturday was interred, Benjamin Price Esq; Attorney at Law. He was buried in a very plain manner, his coffin being of white oak, with iron handles; and he was followed to the grave by his own directions, by twelve poor people from the City Almshouse, six men and six women.

Febry 20, 1766.

A few days ago departed this life (after a very tedious lingering illness, which he supported with great patience and fortitude to the last) Mr. Peter Delage, of this city, a french gentleman of reputation, who resided here upwards of thirty years, and always maintained in the different scenes of business, and private life, a very fair and spotless character. By his last will, he has left a legacy of forty pounds to the Pennsylvania Hospital.

July 3, 1766.

On Tuesday morning last died suddenly, at his house in Market Street, in the seventy fourth year of his age, Peter Franklin, Esq; Deputy Postmaster of this city, only brother to Benjamin Franklin, Esq. He was an affectionate husband, a kind master, a generous benefactor, and a sincere friend. His funeral was yesterday attended by a great number of the inhabitants of the town.

July 3, 1766.

On Thursday night last died, after a short illness, in the 70th year of her age, Mrs. Mary Franklin, the virtuous and amiable consort of the late Peter Franklin, Esq; of this city. She was a gentlewoman who, from principles of christianity, discharged the duties of a long life with unblemished integrity; which, added to a sound understanding and a happy disposition, rendered her beloved by all those who had the pleasure of her acquaintance.

Aug. 21, 1766.

On Sunday last died, of a tedious illness, John Forbes, Esq., in the forty-ninth year of his age, son to —— Forbes, of Petincrief, Esq.; in the shire of Fife in Scotland, Brigadier General, Colonel of the Seventeenth Regiment of Foot, and Commander of his Majesty's troops in the Southern Provinces of North America; a gentleman generally known and esteemed, and most sincerely and universally regretted. In his younger days he was bred to the profession of physic, but early ambitious of the military character, he purchased into the regiment of Scots Grey Dragoons, where by repeated purchases, and faithful services, he arrived to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel.

His superior abilities soon recommended him to the protection of General Campbell, the Earl of Stair, Duke of Bedford, Lord Ligonier, and other distinguished characters in the army; with some of them he served as aide-de-camp, and with the rest in the familiarity of a family man. During the last war he had the honour to be employed in the character of Quarter Master General to the army under His Royal Highness the Duke; which duty he discharged with accuracy, dignity, and dispatch.

His services in America are well known. By a steady pursuit of well concerted measures, in defiance of disease, and numberless obstructions, he brought to a happy issue a most extraordinary campaign, and made a willing sacrifice of his own life to what he valued more, the interest of his King and Country. As a man he was just, and without prejudices, brave without ostentation; uncommonly warm in his friendship and incapable of flattery; acquainted with the world and mankind; he was well bred, but absolutely impatient of formality and affection. Eminently possessed of the sociable virtues, he indulged a cheerful gratification; but quick in his sense of honour and duty, so mixed the agreeable gentleman and man of business together as to shine alike (though truly uncommon) in both characters without the giddiness sometimes attendant on the one, or the sourness of the other. As an officer he was quick to discern useful men, and useful measures, generally seeing both at first view, according to their real qualities; steady in his measures, but open to information and council; in command he had dignity without superciliousness, and though perfectly master of the forms, never hesitated to drop them when the spirit, and more essential parts of the service, required it. Yesterday he was interred in the chancel of Christ Church in this city. The form and order of march at his funeral was as follows:

I. The Pioneers.

II. The Seventeenth Regiment, and two companies of Colonel Montgomery's Regiment, the colours with crapes; the drums covered with black; and the officers with crapes on their arms.

III. Two pieces of cannon, with the Commanding Officer of Artillery.

IV. The Engineers.

V. The Staff.

VI. The servants, in mourning, uncovered, two and two.

VII. A led horse, covered with black, conducted by a groom.

VIII. The Surgeons.

IX. The Physicians.

X. The Clergy and Chaplains of the army.

XI. The corpse and the pall held by six field officers.

XII. The mourners.

XIII. The Governor, the Council, the Speaker, and members of Assembly, the Judges, the magistrates, and gentlemen of the Province and city, two and two.

XIV. The officers from the different garrisons, two and two.

N.B. The minute guns were fired from the time the corpse was brought out until the interment was over; and the whole ended by a triple discharge of the small arms.

March 15, 1759.

FORMATION OF THE CLAY PARTY OF 1832.—At a private meeting of the friends of Henry Clay, held at Keating's Hall on Monday evening the 30th of January, 1832, Daniel W. Coxe, Esq., was called to the chair, and James Hanna appointed secretary.

The Committee of Finance, consisting of Messrs. J. P. Wetherill, J. B. Trevor, J. Hanna, G. Ristow, and R. Bethell, appointed at a previous meeting, made the following report, which was on motion adopted:

The Committee appointed to devise a plan for collecting a necessary Fund,

Report the following as a plan that to them seems most likely to raise at any period the means that might be required with the greatest facility and despatch, and at the same time to secure an active and efficient organization of the National Republican party throughout the City and County of Philadelphia.

They recommended the immediate formation of National Republican Associations in each of the Wards of the City, and in each of the Districts and Townships of the County. Such associations to embrace, if possible, all the friends of the cause residing within their respective bounds; a constitution with such other regulations that may be necessary for their government to be adopted to each of the associations with the usual and necessary officers, and their meetings to be held at stated periods. Each association to appoint two members who, collectively, shall constitute a Committee of Correspondence and Superintendence for the City and County of Philadelphia. Each association to appoint also a Committee of Collection, to procure from the National Republicans within its limits whatever amount they may be willing to contribute for the advancement of our principles. The fund thus collected to be deposited with the Treasurer of the Committee of Correspondence and Superintendence, and to be at the disposal of the said committee.

On motion, *Resolved*, That a Committee of five in each ward, and a corresponding number in each of the adjoining districts, be appointed to carry into immediate operation the proposed plan of organization in their respective wards and districts. The following were appointed by the meeting:

Upper Delaware Ward.—Andrew Geyer, John Haseltine, Samuel J. Robbins, Benjamin C. Cooper, and Charles Stout.

Lower Delaware Ward.—Nathan R. Potts, Peter Christian, Henry C. Corbit, Gideon Scull, and W. A. Peddle.

High Street Ward.—Caleb Cope, Wm. T. Smith, Wm. S. Dillingham, Geo. Hartley, and John Culin.

Chestnut Ward.—Josiah Randall, John S. Warner, Samuel C. Cooper, Wm. L. Ward, and Nathaniel Davis.

Walnut Ward.—John Binns, Edw. Ingersoll, Abraham Russell, Jr., Isaac Myer, and R. Howell.

Dock Ward.—Lawrence Lewis, Jos. Aiken, J. C. Martin, Wm. Patton, and Robert Donnell.

Pine Ward.—Geo. W. Jones, Sanderson Robert, John Warrington, Joshua Bunting, and John Francis.

New Market Ward.—Wm. Milnor, J. Rakestraw, R. C. See, Jacob B. Lancaster, and J. Hall Bready.

Cedar Ward.—I. G. Clarkson, Geo. Beck, Enoch Thorn, John Gilder, and Richard Dixon.

Locust Ward.—Chas. Barrington, Jr., Wm. White, Jr., David Paul Brown, David Winebrener, and Willing Francis.

South Ward.—Theo. H. Smith, Samuel Rush, Robert Hare, Jr., Jas. Smith, and Edward Parker.

Middle Ward.—And. M. Jones, Samuel Morris, C. H. Tiers, Wm. Montelius, and Jos. B. Smith.

North Ward.—John B. Trevor, Robt. Govett, Samuel Fox, Peter Conrad, and Samuel Bispham.

South Mulberry.—Benj. Tevis, J. P. Wetherill, Frederick Fraley, Thos. Earp, and Isaac Herbert.

North Mulberry.—Robert Bethell, M. S. Hallowell, Wm. Walton, T. S. Richards, and Joshua G. Harker.

Southwark.—Daniel Green, Jas. Gregory, James Hanna, Geo. W. Gillingham, Henry Flickwir, Joseph Lawrence, Benj. Minsch, Jonathan Chew, John Friedline, and John Scolfield.

Northern Liberties.—Robert Ritchie, David Scattergood, Benj. W. Clark, Robert A. Parrish, Theo. M. Hart, Jos. Gorgas, Jacob M. Thomas, Simon Jordan, Thos. Connell, and Jas. Vanetta.

Penn Township.—Lawrence Shuster, Adam Woelper, Edmund Hollingshead, Jas. Laws, and Enoch Stratton.

Kensington.—Michael Day, Wm. Fitler, Jno. C. Browne, and James Keen.

Resolved: That the secretary be requested to have one hundred copies of the proceedings of this meeting printed, and to distribute them among the members of the ward and district committees.

Resolved: That said committees be requested early to adopt measures to put into operation at their respective wards and districts the proposed associations.

Meeting adjourned. I. M.

PENNSYLVANIA AFTER BRADDOCK'S DEFEAT—A PHILADELPHIA MERCHANT ON THE STATE OF THE PROVINCE.—

John Kidd to Messrs Rawlinson and Davison of London

Philada. 23 Nov. 1755

. . . The distressed situation of our country at present has been a very great disadvantage to our Trade & which is most surprising all owing to our supiness & rather a stupid party Faction that has long prevailed amongst us, which I am afraid nothing can put an end to but an act of Parliament I hope your good people at home will think of us this winter.

The same to Messrs Neate and Neare of London

Philada Nov 25, 1755

. . . Our disputes here are likely to run very high. There are about 500 people come to town this day from the back parts of the Province to demand protection from the Legislature. They are determined not to return till they are satisfied with a Militia or something else for their mutual defence. It is like to bread a great uproar in the town but I hope it will have a good effect by putting it in the people's power to defend themselves, which they are both able and willing to do were they provided with proper materials.

COURT-DINNER BILL.—

	Mr John Lawrence Dr	
June 14 1752	To Cash lay'd Out for Court Diner . .	£4.12.6
	To 2 Bowles punch @ 5/ } 2 Do " @ 3/ }	16
	5 Bottles Wine	13.4
	4 " Beer	6
	Table Beer	1.6
	To Dressing Diner And Attendance .	1.10
		£7.19.4

July 13th. Then Recd the above Contents ℘r me

WM BIDDLE

A CENTENNIAL RELIC.—

May 6, 1876.

DEAR SIR,—I Wish to Inquire Of you, what it will Cost me to hav you to Serch the Records of your Chirch, Of One Chief Justice William Allen & His father famuley record, if it is recorded thare. I want to make Out his famuley record. Thare was in his family three Boys & thar names was William, Thomas Samuel & sum others we think but cannot Name them for Sirtan. the father died in 1725 At Philadelphia & was bered from the High Church—his Boyes came to the City of Newyork two years or thare Abouts.

So I wish to make out a pedegree of Thomas & William. William was Appointed Chief Justice of Pa. in 1767 By King George the forth & at the Approach of the revolutionary war he chief went to England & Died in Sept 1780. now I want the boyes father famuely record. Can you give me Sum Clue to it. By the next return mail.

CORRECTION.—In the list of officers of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, printed on page 490 of Volume X. of the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, the name of J. Edward Carpenter, treasurer, was inadvertently omitted.—EDITOR.

"THE OLD SULLIVAN ROAD."—The Rev. H. M. Kieffer, editor of *The Guardian* (a monthly issued by the Reformed Church in this city), is contributing a series of interesting sketches of a local and general historical character relating to the road over which Sullivan and his division in 1779 proceeded against the Indians. Notwithstanding the lapse of a century, it may still be traced in many localities in its course through the State. Among the collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania is a portion of a pine-tree into which has been not unartistically cut by a soldier of the expedition "Hell's Kitchen," the suggestive name given to a camp in the wilderness region of the Pocono in Monroe County.

Queries.

REV. ANDREW MORTON.—I am inclined to think the Rev. Andrew Morton, rector of St. Thomas' Church, Hunterdon County, N. J., mentioned on p. 258, Vol. X., was the same Andrew Morton who was tutor in the College and Academy of Philadelphia from March, 1753, to October, 1759. Dr. Peters reported to the trustees, 1 August, 1759, *inter alia*, that "Mr. Morton, now one of the Tutors in the Latin School, had given them Notice of his Intentions to accept an Invitation he had received

to take the charge of the Public School at Bohemia and made them the most grateful acknowledgments for the many Favors they had conferred upon him and particularly for their late Advancement of him into the Latin School, intimating at the same time that if there should be a vacancy in the English School and they should think him worthy of that Professorship, it might induce him to alter his intentions."

What is known of his history subsequent to his St. Thomas rectorship? T. H. M.

BACHELOR'S HALL.—In a letter dated from Philadelphia, 27th January, 1742, some account is given of a visit to "Bachelor's Hall." The location of this hall is requested. J. F. T.

Muncy, Pa.

THOMAS LLOYD OF MERION.—In the April [1886] number of the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE is the statement: "Said William ap Edward's daughter Elizabeth married Thomas Lloyd of Merriam township."

I should like to know the parentage and place of emigration.

SAMUEL TROTH.

Replies.

RHOADS.—In answer to inquiry of P. MacF., Jr., as to date of death of Samuel Rhoads (not *Rhoades*), mayor of Philadelphia in 1774, I would reply that it occurred at Philadelphia, December 14, 1784. H. D. B.

E. T. W. B.—Henry Miller, for a few months one of the publishers of the *Lancaster Gazette* in 1752, began the publication of the *Staatsbote* at Philadelphia ten years later. A sketch of this enterprising printer and his newspaper, by Prof. Oswald Seidensticker, will appear in the forthcoming number of the *Deutsch-Americanisches Magazin.* A few files of the *Gazette* will be found in the Collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. J.

THE LOTTING PURCHASE.—The Indian purchase sometimes called the "Last Purchase," above the Falls of Trenton, is called the "Lotting Purchase," I suppose, from its being allotted among the Proprietors of West Jersey. These lots extended far into East Jersey. Probably all of the surveys are recorded in Book A, 1714–20, Surveyor-General's office, Burlington, N. J.

CAMDEN, N. J. WILLIAM JOHN POTTS.

MARY BECKET (Vol. X. p. 481).—A correspondent in New York reminds me that it was not Mary, but her mother, the supposititious Eleanor Percy, whom tradition has made the "ward in chancery." The story may be found, with all its amplifications and lack of authorities, in Davis's "History of Bucks County," 1876, pp. 87, 107. Two of M. B.'s descendants have also written to ask why I think that she was a young child when she came to America. It seems to me that this is the inference to be drawn from Haydock's letters. See extracts, *ante* p. 482, especially the expressions "hope shee may *in tyme* (italics mine) be in a capacity," etc., "desire she may improve her handwriting," also the following from same letters:

"Shee is growing up & wee hope in a little tyme may be capable of doing some kind of service; I understand by ye tenour of severall of thyne, y^t^ at p^r^sent husbandry is like to turne to ye best profit, yet I can-

not promise to myselfe y^{t} ye childs stay for any considerable tyme wth H: B. can turn to her profitt; But dear ffriend wee understand y^{t} y^{r} Governor^{s} wife is for comeing to those parts; now if in tyme shee might be of service in y^{t} family, as to (*illegible*) of ye children &c. we should in y^{t} be glad, hopeing of her good education & Instruction in ye way of truth, wch is ye principall thing wee have in our eye, although her good wee desire every way: & if that way open not, if anoth^{r} approved of by you do open, wee leave her to you," . . . "shee now may a little put her hand to something, wch may also be bett^{r} for ye child" . . . "As to her table wages the Agreement wth H: B: was onely for one year, wch wee were free in because of his trouble in taking her over, then she was left to you" . . . "wee are content the same be allowed for 2 years and for ye tyme shee is there long^{r} shall leave to you" . . . "we tould them they might expect some place in due tyme" . . . "till some such place offer, if you think it is for ye child's good, we are content, shee be wth them," . . . and, speaking of a letter from Mary herself, "one Expression in hers was strange as that she should hear wee sayd shee was a disobedyent child, wch we neith^{r} have s^{d} or had occasion for it, but hope ye contrary." From this it would appear that she was then too young to be set at heavy tasks, and persons of more luxurious habits are apt to forget at what a very early age children who are expected to help themselves during life are taught to work.

A friend who has seen a copy of the letter thinks that the phrase "shee is growing up" would indicate a less tender age than I have given her; and yet it so happens that within my own experience, only last summer, a little English maiden of but ten years waited upon my family in a most satisfactory way, and her mother states her reason for wishing to remove the child from the dangers of London life in these very words, "She is now growing up."

The next extract may or may not relate to Mary Becket. I give it for what it may be worth. Henry Haydock, writing from Warrington to Mr. Pemberton, under date of "ye 27th of 6 mo: 1686," nearly two years after Mary's arrival, encloses an account for shoes sent to the several members of the family,—two pair for Mr. P., one pair for his wife, one for his daughter, another for his son, and "a pr for ye letel child," repeated in the letter with the variation, "a pr littell ones," costing, by the way, only one shilling, while the daughter's are charged at 1/6, and the son's at 1/3. A descendant tells me that at this time his ancestor, Mr. Pemberton, had no little child of his own, and we know that Mary was then living with his family.

Another correspondent is reluctant to abandon Mary's claims to gentle birth. All that I would venture to assert at present about this is that if she was a person of quality she did not bring the insignia of her rank with her. A gentleman in Massachusetts, who is preparing for publication a genealogy of the Bowne family, suggests to me that the growth of this romantic story may be traced to the tiny germ of a scribe's error in placing a full stop after the names of the Baker family in the ship's passenger-list, whereby "Mary Becket & 10 servts named," etc., are made to stand together in one clause. Even those who have held that this princely retinue belonged to Mary have found a difficulty in ascribing to her, under the circumstances, such a train of pages and footmen,—for the supposed menials, with one exception, are males,—and have considered them husbandmen or the like, which is doubtless true. One Margaret Bradley, writing from England to the elder Pemberton, 4 mo. 1, 1684, says, "I can heare of no husbandman that is willing to come so far, but Margaret Baker tould me she intended to take over 4 or 5 men &

she thought they might help . . . with one to hould him plowe . . ." It is not unlikely that when she learned of the needs of the colony she concluded to bring more than the four or five at first thought of. But the "servants" were not Mary's.

The only valuable addition to our information acquired by the replies with which I have so far been kindly favored relates to the time when M. B. first became the subject of the Percy tradition, but this must be left for your next number.

THOMAS STEWARDSON.

BACHELOR'S HALL.—This "Hall," with its surrounding grounds, was located on the square now bounded by Poplar, Shackamaxon, Beach, and Allen Streets, Kensington. It was erected prior to 1728, and for some years was a favorite resort on festive occasions. During the visits of Count Zinzendorf in 1742, and Rev. John Murray (the Universalist preacher) in 1770, they preached there.

SUSQUEHANNA.—Heckewelder, in his "Indian Names of Rivers, Creeks, and other Noted Places in Pennsylvania, together with their Meaning, &c." (original MS., Hist. Soc. Pa.), states: "The Indians (Lenape) distinguish the River which we call Susquehanna thus: The North Branch they call *M'chwewamisipu*, or to shorten it *M'chwewormink*, from which we have made it Wyoming. Their word implies: *the River on which are extensive clear Flats.* The Six Nations, according to Pyrlæus [Moravian missionary] call it *Gahonta*, which hath the same meaning.

"The West Branch they call *Quenischáchachgekhanne*, but to shorten it they say *Quenischachachki.* The word implies: *the River which has the long reaches or straight courses in it.*

"From the forks, where now the town of Northumberland stands, *downwards*, they have a name (this word I have lost) which implies: *the Great Bay River.* The word Susquehanna, properly *Sísquehánne*, from *Sísku* for *mud*, and *hanne*, a *stream*, was probably at an early time of the settling of this country, overheard by some white person while the Indians were at the time of a flood or freshet remarking: *Juh! Achsísquehanne* or *Sísquehanna* which is: *how muddy the stream is*, and therefore taken as the proper name of the River. Any stream that has become muddy, will at the time it is so, be called *Sísquehanna.*"

REV. ANDREW MORTON.—The following is a copy of an old manuscript found among the papers left by Rev. William Frazer, rector of St. Thomas's and St. Andrew's Churches, of Hunterdon County, N. J. (see PENNA. MAG., Vol. X. p. 256). It indicates, apparently, an instance of the partisan intolerance of those stormy times which preceded the American Revolution. The paper is without date, but it is certain that Mr. Morton preceded Mr. Frazer. The rectorship of the latter began in 1768. In a letter from him to Rev. Dr. Benton, Bishop of London, dated Amwell, N. J., October 20, 1768, he says, "The late unhappy differences between this Congregation (St. Andrew's) and my unhappy predecessor, together with the long Vacancy that ensu'd has rendered the Situation of this Church truly lamentable." It seems probable the vacancy in the Kingwood (now Alexandria) Church was not very "long;" for Hon. John Stevens, in behalf of the American purchasers of the West Jersey Land Society's great tract in Hunterdon County, stipulated Oct. 4, 1766, for the payment of ten pounds per annum "to Establish the Gospel in Amwell and Kingwood Churches;" and the first receipt for this by the

vestry is dated December 4, 1768. These contributions were all made to the Kingwood Church, and continued regularly till November 22, 1773.

The old paper is very much worn, and in some places entirely gone. The missing places are supplied in *italics*.

Rev[d] Sir:

We, the Wardens and Vestry of St. Thomas's Church in the Township of Kingwood & County of Hunterdon, New Jersey, having voluntarily met to consider what measures will be most proper for us to take in our distressed state beg Leave to assure You That our Hearts are deeply penetrated with the sense of your Afflictions; the sympathetic sorrow we feel has cast a cold and heavy damp on our sinking spirits and spread an universal gloom.

With the greatest Detestation and Abhorrence have we seen those base methods which have been tried to wound your Reputation and you persecuted by the Enemies of our Church with all the Virulence that misguided zeal can inspire or Malice dictate.

Though we glory in the name of Englishmen, as being subjects to the best of Kings and live under the happiest Constitution in the universe, yet so far are we from being countenanced and encouraged in the Profession of the established Religion of the Church of England that we find ourselves hardly tolerated.

Being Witnesses of your *whole* conduct and truly sensible of the great pains you have taken *to inculcate the doctrines of* rational Religion since you *came amongst us we have neither* been imposed on by the deep *plotting of a malicious* & revengeful Family nor the *repeated and ungenerous* Clamors of a hot-headed *Populace who have omitted no* opportunity to distress you & *deepen your sorrow.*

We must have been stupid if we *were ignorant of* the *outrageous* Designs of a Sett of Men who *never failed to demonstrate* down to the lowest petty annoyances . . . to them; For why should Warrant after Warrant be issued against You when the King's Writ was out, nay after You had voluntarily given a Security to the Judge of the Court for your appearance? Why should a Reward be offered to any man who would apprehend You as if you had been a Murderer or Traitor to your King? Why should scurrilous Advertisements be printed & dispersed over many parts of this and the neighboring Province to stigmatize You with Crimes before You had a Trial & make the World believe You had made your escape from the officers of justice?

Must You be thus debar'd of the common Rights of a British subject? O Liberty, whither art thou fled! O sacred Religion, how deeply hast thou been wounded!

Amidst our afflictions it is our happiness to know that Your Enemies cannot finally condemn You unheard, & we heartily wish that Justice may take place so that with us the World may ere long be convinced of the Horridness of the Plot which has been formed against You, & the Cruelty with which You have been treated.

But as it will take some time to decide this Matter we see no reason why you should, in the mean time, gratify our Enemies by desisting any longer *from the performance of the offices of the Church Service.*

Being deprived of the publick Worship of God in that Way which our Conscience dictates to us to be right we seem like sheep abandoned to the thorny Wilderness of the world without a Shepherd—without a spiritual Guide; and we earnestly request that You would resume your sacred Office again among us.

That You may soon have a happy Deliverance from the Power of your

cruel Enemys & that Almighty God may protect and Defend his Church in these Wilds of America against the malicious Attempts of every Foe without and every Traitor within is the devout prayer of

Dear Sir

Your Most Affectionate

And most humble Servants.

(Here follow the names of the Wardens and Vestrymen.) Underneath is written, "To the Revd. Mr. Morton."

Any information relative to Rev. Mr. Morton's previous or subsequent history will be thankfully received.

PITTSTOWN, N. J., March 3, 1887. HENRY RACE.

E. V. B.—Mention is frequently made of both of these public-houses in our Provincial history. John Hays's was located (now Weaversville, Northampton County) on the road leading from Bethlehem to Gnadenhütten, which road had been laid out in 1747, it being urged by the petitioners "that many inhabitants of this and the neighboring Provinces have frequent occasion of going beyond the Blue Mountains to Mahoning Creek and to the Healing Waters lying not far from thence." Nicholas Opplinger's was located on the road to Fort Allen, where it leaves the Lehigh just above the Gap and skirts the "Fire Line Hill" along the Aquanshicola, a mile from its mouth.

NECROLOGIST.—The deaths of members of the Society are usually announced at the stated meetings. Since the 1st January, 1887, notice of the decease of the following "Resident members" has been received:

Isaac Lea, elected 27 September, 1826.
Samuel Chew, elected 12 May, 1856.
R. Ashhurst Bowie, elected 13 June, 1859.
Thomas Ridgway, elected 22 February, 1871.
E. Coppée Mitchell, elected 12 March, 1881.

Andrew Elliot

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ANDREW ELLIOT, LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR OF THE PROVINCE OF NEW YORK.

BY EUGENE DEVEREUX.

The family of Elliot is of old border origin, dating back to 1490, at which time Elliot of Redheugh was chief of the clan of that name, from whom have descended the Elliots of Minto. Gilbert Elliot, the first baronet, was admitted to the bar of Scotland, was appointed Clerk of the Privy Council, raised to the bench in 1705, and became Lord President of the Court of Sessions, assuming the title of Lord Minto. The second Sir Gilbert Elliot, who married Helen, daughter of Sir Robert Stuart, of Allanbank, also became a judge, and attained the dignities of Lord Justice Clerk and Lord President of the Court of Sessions.

Andrew Elliot, third son of the second Sir Gilbert Elliot, was born probably at "Minto," or perhaps in the Horse Wynd of Edinburgh, in November, 1728, and received his early education at Dalkeith School, where, as was custom-

ary in those days, seated on the same hard bench, the son of the Laird and the hind's boy were taught the rudiments of education; subsequently he was sent to the famous High School of Edinburgh, and he mentioned the fact of his having left school at the age of sixteen. It was the custom at that time for the sons of gentle Scotch families, not destined for professional or military service, to learn a trade or business, and Andrew Elliot, having selected a business career, at the early age of eighteen years left home, and on August 30, 1746, was on his way to Portsmouth, from whence he probably sailed for his destination, Philadelphia. His capital consisted of about £700, advanced to him and placed in the hands of John Seaton, merchant, of London, by his father, who considered it "more than many young men begin on, and as he is both diligent and sober, with patience and industry may increase his capital."

On September 8, 1747, he was occupying a store with a son of Thomas Trotter, of Edinburgh, and perhaps connected with him in business. Having entered actively into commercial pursuits, Mr. Seaton informed Lord Minto, September 1, 1748, that he should be sent a full assorted cargo, that he was deserving and prudent, and had already made successful ventures. His father, in a letter to him of about that date, expressed a sincere appreciation of the kindness of Mr. McCall, merchant, of Philadelphia, who appears to have acted as a second father to him after his settlement here.

John Swift, in a letter to Osgood Gee, at Beckenham, in Kent, dated at Philadelphia, in 1749, thus writes of him: . . . "I have sent you two small kegs of pickles, the product of this country, &c., under the care of Mr. Elliot, a young gentleman that came over with me from London, and we have lived together these two years. If it should fall in your way to be acquainted with him, you will find him to be a sensible, modest, deserving young fellow and an agreeable companion. He is a son of my Lord Minto's, of Scotland." In another letter to Grosvenor Bedford he speaks of Andrew Elliot as an intimate friend, one for

whom he had a particular regard on account of several valuable qualities he had discovered in him.

In his youth he enjoyed the social entertainments of the times, as will be seen by the fact that in 1748 he was a subscriber to the first Dancing Assembly given in Philadelphia, and was one of the four managers of the one held in 1754. He was a member of the Independent Company of Foot in 1756, and was elected a member of the board of trustees of the College of Philadelphia in 1762, resigning, however, the same year. He was a member of the St. Andrew's Society from 1750 to 1764, and of the City Council in 1755, which office he held for some time.

He married, October 31, 1754, Eleanor, daughter of George McCall, Esq., by whom he had one child, Eleanor.[1] His wife died May 20, 1756, and he married, in the latter part of 1759 or beginning of 1760, Elizabeth, daughter of William Plumsted, Esq., by whom he had nine children; only two, however, Elizabeth[2] and Agnes Murray,[3] survived their parents or were married.

[1] Eleanor, daughter of Andrew Elliot and his wife Eleanor, daughter of George McCall, was born May, 1756. She was married first, November 20, 1773, to James Jauncey, Jr., of New York, who died August 11, 1777, and secondly to Admiral Robert Digby, by special license, in London, August 17, 1784. He became senior Admiral in the British navy, and died at an advanced age at Minterne Magna, Dorset, February 25, 1814.

Mrs. Digby was noted for her intelligence, vivacity, and popularity. She died, without issue, at Minterne House, July 28, 1830.

[2] Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Andrew Elliot and his wife Elizabeth, daughter of William Plumsted by his wife Rebecca Kearny, was born in Philadelphia October 6, 1762, and was married in New York, April 10, 1779, to William Schaw, tenth Baron and first Earl Cathcart (see Burke's "Peerage"). He was noted for repeated acts of gallantry in the field while serving as a British officer during the Revolution. Lady Cathcart became distinguished at court during the reign of George III., and received especial marks of favor from Queen Charlotte. She died December 14, 1847.

[3] Agnes Murray, second daughter of Andrew Elliot and Elizabeth Plumsted, was born December 16, 1763, and was married in Edinburgh, April 30, 1783, to Sir David Carnegie (see Burke's "Peerage"). "She was remarkable through life for her powers of mind, her conversational

It is an interesting fact that a tradition exists in the Minto and Cathcart families that Elizabeth Plumsted refused an offer of marriage from George Washington about the time she became engaged to Andrew Elliot; her daughter, Lady Elizabeth Cathcart, was their authority, and a note to the "Memoirs of the Hon. Hugh Elliot" is said to contain a reference to the subject. That Washington was in love with some lady at that time is evident from a letter written by him to Mrs. Fairfax on September 12, 1758, in which he so expressed himself, and added, "the world has no business to know the object of my love when I want to conceal it."[1]

During the latter part of his residence in Philadelphia he had a summer-seat north of the city called "Gleneva" and a dwelling-house on Front Street. He visited Scotland, with his family, in 1763, and at the residence of his father, Greyfriars Parish, in Edinburgh, his daughter Agnes Murray was born. He remained in Great Britain some time, and returned to America in 1764, having been appointed on January 19 "His Majesty's Receiver General of all Revenues, Customs excepted," and by the Commissioners of Customs in London, Collector of the Port of New York, by virtue of a warrant of the Commissioners of the Treasury dated December, 1763. The office of Collector of the Customs soon became a delicate and arduous one. In this year there appeared an unwillingness on the part of merchants to submit to the usual method of clearing vessels, but Governor Colden instructed Mr. Elliot to allow no vessel a clearance until the Governor's "Let Pass" was obtained.

He was recommended by the Governor to a seat in the Council, November 5, 1764, on the ground that it was expedient for his Majesty's service that he should be appointed.

The Stamp Act was passed in March of 1765, and the ship containing the stamps arrived at New York October of that year, and the determination of the people with regard to

gifts, the charm of her disposition, her artistic talent, and, above all, her deep and unaffected piety." (Life and Letters of Sir Gilbert Elliot, first Earl of Minto.) Lady Carnegie died June 9, 1860.

[1] Autograph letter sold by Bangs & Co., New York, March 31, 1877.

them so frightened the Stamp Distributor that he resigned his office. November 1 was the day appointed for their distribution, and Andrew Elliot and Lambert Moore wrote to Charles Stewart, Surveyor-General of Customs, for instructions, stating that as there was a great uproar in town, and that threatening papers had been put upon all their doors, they were at a loss how to act, and that if the stamps were distributed no doubt they would have to use them, but as the Distributor had resigned, and if another was not appointed, they would be glad to know whether they could clear vessels without certifying that stamps could not be obtained. In several other letters from him to the Surveyor-General of Customs he asked for information and instructions, showing that he wished to act cautiously, and while ready to perform his duty, he had a desire to avoid oppressing the people and prevent an outbreak.[1]

In 1768, Mr. Elliot was instructed by the Commissioners of Customs at Boston not to receive anything for duties but silver, which was not to be procured in the Province; in fact, paper currency was scarce. Mr. Elliot granted every indulgence he could consistent with his duties as Collector. In reply to a letter on this subject from Governor Moore, Lord Hillsborough stated that the order of the Commissioners of Customs at Boston to Mr. Elliot appeared to be ill judged.

From this time until 1774, Andrew Elliot's official career appears to have been uneventful. On the 19th of October of that year, a circular letter was sent to all the Governors in America stating that by the King's orders they were instructed to seize all arms and ammunition that might be imported into their Province. In compliance with these instructions Governor Colden wrote to Mr. Elliot, December 15, 1774, requiring him to take the most effectual measures "for arresting, detaining, and securing any Gun Powder or any sort of Arms or Ammunition which may be attempted to be imported into this Province," unless the vessel had a

[1] Notes on the Stamp Act in New York and Virginia. Pa. Mag., Vol. II. p. 296.

license to carry them. A few days after this order was received, a vessel called the "Lady Gage" arrived at New York with arms and ammunition on board. Mr. Elliot seized them and had them sent on board of a man-of-war in the harbor. For doing so he was threatened with personal violence. Governor Colden wrote to the Earl of Dartmouth concerning this affair, that it was an infamous attempt to frighten Mr. Elliot, and that the principal gentlemen and merchants waited upon him and assured him they were perfectly satisfied with his conduct, and declared warmly against this attempt to insult him. Lord Dartmouth replied, approving his "spirited and proper conduct."

Lieutenant-Governor Colden, in a letter to Governor Tryon, dated August 2, 1774, again recommended Mr. Elliot to a seat in the Council, in which he says, "Mr. Elliot and Mr. Kempe are both men of good sense, and very proper from the offices they bear to be of the Council Board."

In relation to the disturbed condition of affairs caused by acts of Parliament, and the expected arrival of a tea-ship at New York, he wrote to his brother Sir Gilbert Elliot, September 3, 1773: "The late Act of Parliament about tea (is) not well understood here;" and on December 27: "The situation of this country is worse than in 1765. The New Ministers in England consult adventurers and once having spoken and committed themselves they will acknowledge no errors." . . . "The flame (is) now high. I have been waited on, but no insult, they demanded to know what I should do! I replied my duty! if I could not do that, then I should do what appeared most consistent with duty, the honour of Government and as bound by my oath and my character as a gentleman. They know I am determined. I find it best to keep by myself, as I act from, and for myself. My conduct shall be cautious, as bold as best suits my object in the honour of Government. No account of the Tea Ship; the Government will endeavor to land the cargo; it is not the voice of the people to destroy it."[1]

[1] Minto MSS.

On April 5, 1775, he again wrote to Sir Gilbert Elliot: "Blood being shed at Boston; as soon as accounts came here People assembled and broke open the City Hall, carrying off 500 Stand of Arms; from Sunday to Thursday all was confusion: 300 men then marched to my house, and sent in a deputation of 6 persons to demand that I should neither enter nor clear any ships. Pointing to the armed men, I told them they might make me do anything but give a promise contrary to my oath and commission; that as long as I could, I would do my duty at the Post. They closed the Custom House, I followed and applied to the Governor, He advised submission to the times. I wrote to the Captain of the Man-of-War and returned determined to remain at my Post. Personally I was treated with civility: some high words amongst the deputation made Mrs Elliot appear, she having been in an adjoining room, which was lucky, and, when done with me, they went to assure her of protection and regard. She behaved with firmness; this experience will make future trials easier to her. I am determined not to quit my station. Connecticut people are expected. Committee of 100 formed; Custom house key returned (and) business has gone on for two days. . . . I and my family are in no danger. I will do my duty properly and not quit it until I am sure you will not be ashamed of my conduct."[1]

A few months prior to the Declaration of Independence Mr. Elliot moved with his family to Perth Amboy, the state of affairs in New York making it unsafe for him to stay there. He remained at Perth Amboy until the occupation of New York by the British, when he returned, and resided at his seat called "Minto," on the Bowery road, some two miles from the city. He wrote to Sir Gilbert Elliot on February 17, 1777: "Major Gordon's expedition (is) to return to Staten Island. I was going in a sledge to Shrewsbury River to bring off my family, supposing Gordon would go on, but Genl Howe only intended to surprise a guard which Gordon effected. In reply to my *express through the woods* Mrs Elliot replied, 'impossible to stir, the country was

[1] Minto MSS.

informed within half an hour.' General Putnam has given her leave to go off (with) children and clothes, nothing else. She has wrote to General Washington to get a protection for a sloop. Her time of lying in is near; if the roads permit, she was to attempt to go again 30 miles to General Putnam. Very uncommon for me, I am out of spirits; I have not shifted, nor even had my shoes off for nine days;—anxiety, disappointment and fatigue. Suspense is the only thing that totally overcomes me. I shall ask Gen[l] Howe for a Flag of truce to go with a sloop to Shrewsbury and thence to General Washington. The women and children of all friends of the Government are ordered away from Monmouth by the 25th inst., being surrounded by both armies they can only go by water. The boats are all sunk by order of Washington now 'Sole Dictator.' Gen[l] Robertson goes to England to-morrow, you will find him a man of sense and intelligence, and superior information in regard to America, having been here twenty years—He has a cheerful temper and humour withal, (and) he has pleased all parties and ranks. He is fond of telling a good story and does it well. He is vastly regretted as Military Governor of this place, and he has done, at great expense of time and temper, amazing good to the miserable inhabitants, standing at all times boldly between them and oppression. . . . If I had not a family I would rather be in Africa than America. Gen[l] Robertson has been an uncommon friend to me. I fear I may be a bad drawer of character, and have not done him justice."[1]

General Howe, by proclamation dated New York, May 1, 1777, established a Military Court of Police, and appointed Andrew Elliot its head. He also by proclamation dated July 17, 1777, appointed Andrew Elliot superintendent of all imports and exports to and from the Island of New York, Long Island, and Staten Island, which was really a military appointment as Collector of Customs, with enlarged powers and military authority, and on the 22d Andrew Elliot gave notice that he had assumed the duties of his office.

[1] Minto MSS.

About the same time General Daniel Jones, as Commandant of the City of New York, appointed Andrew Elliot Superintendent-General of the Ordinary Police of the City with power to regulate the vicious, the poor, keep order at the markets, ferries, etc.[1] He had under his control the payment of all the city funds, the ordering of the sale of forfeited goods, the collection of licenses, the distribution of funds accruing from fines, the payment of salaries, etc.

During the year 1777, Andrew Elliot and his family were afflicted with much sorrow, suffering, and hardship. His son-in-law, James Jauncey, Jr., died of fever, after four months' illness, on August 11; eight days afterwards his eldest son, Gilbert, died of malignant fever; his daughter, Mrs. Jauncey, was ill of the fever, his son William's life despaired of, and at last he himself was taken seriously ill. His brother Sir Gilbert Elliot also died in that year. He wrote, December 14, 1777: "Flour costs £4 per cwt. We live on rice, eating bread only once a day. (Have) very few servants, and keep close for warmth, fuel being so dear. Always hope for better times, hope is the greatest happiness of life."

Mr. Elliot's niece, Mrs. Eden, who with her husband, William Eden,[2] made a voyage to New York in 1778, in the "Trident," Commodore John Elliot, wrote to her brother, Hon. Hugh Elliot, that she anticipated delight at meeting her uncle Andrew's family, and that she heard he was beloved by all parties. After her arrival at New York she informed him that they were blockaded by a French fleet, that Commodore John Elliot was second in command under Lord Howe, and "Your other Uncle Mr. Andrew Elliot is a very sensible and respectable man; he has a beautiful place about two miles from this town where we occasionally sleep. He has a numerous family, and will be totally

[1] Gaines's *New York Gazette.*

[2] William Eden married, September 26, 1776, Eleanor, second daughter of Sir Gilbert Elliot, Bart., of Minto, was appointed one of the British Commissioners for restoring peace in America in 1778, etc., and created Baron Auckland November 18, 1789.

ruined if we cannot recover our affairs; yet he is perfectly cheerful." Andrew Elliot, in a letter to his nephew, Sir Gilbert, dated July 20, 1778, says, "Your sister is beloved by everybody; could this affair be settled by a woman, she is the woman, her manner is perfect. Eden I like prodigiously—clever, sensible and officially dexterous. . . . Had our fleet and army remained at Philadelphia the divided fleet would have fallen into the hands of the enemy. The French fleet arrived after our last division got in from Philadelphia. . . . I have been on board my brother Jack's ship, his spirits are good, but imagine an old brave British officer that used to run after the French, blockaded in Port, and seeing prizes taken under the nose of a British Fleet."

In the latter part of 1778 he sent his two sons, John and William, to Edinburgh to complete their education. They were both said to be manly boys. William was marked out by nature to be a seaman, and John, equally clever but with better judgment, was destined for the army, a life which was considered by Mr. Elliot as "genteel beggary" and full of disappointments.

He expressed his antipathy to the French and his opinion of D'Estaing in a letter to Sir Gilbert thus: "I hate the French, but can't help admiring D'Estaing, it's glorious even to fail when you attempt, with such prospects of success, such objects as he has; Thank God! he is now disabled. I wish, somehow he had not been a Frenchman."

He wrote the following characteristic letter to his nephew on the subject of his daughter Elizabeth's marriage: "My daughter (is) to be married to Lord Cathcart next week; both seem highly pleased. I am always happy when young people are happy. If his friends object, he has not hurried into it, and he has proved to me it is most prudent to marry my daughter; if I really thought so I should not agree; a downright prudent marriage is the most insipid thing. I hope their youth will pass agreeably; as to age it passes in grunting, scolding and fretting about matters it has no concern with." Lord Cathcart procured a license April 9, 1779, and they were married on the evening of the 10th.

The summer season of 1779 was very unhealthy in New York, and all Mr. Elliot's family, including his servants, were down with the fever. His youngest child, Rebecca, died, and Lord Cathcart's health was so impaired by it that he was compelled to return to England in the following year.[1]

In 1780 he was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of New York, took the usual oaths of qualification before his Excellency the Governor, in Council, on March

[1] William Schaw Cathcart, tenth Baron Cathcart, succeeded his father in 1776, when he became of age, entered the army in 1777, having obtained a Cornet's commission in the Seventeenth Light Dragoons, and arrived in America in that year. He was at the storming of Forts Clinton and Montgomery, on the Hudson River, and promoted for distinguished conduct on that occasion; was Captain of the Seventeenth Dragoons in 1778, and mentioned in general orders for surprising Federal pickets near Valley Forge. He appeared as chief of the Knights of the "Blended Rose," at the Meschianza, held on May 18, 1778, at Philadelphia, ostensibly in honor of General Sir William Howe, prior to his departure from America, but really to put a cheerful face on an enforced retreat to New York. He became Aide-de-Camp to Sir Henry Clinton, and was distinguished at the battle of Monmouth Court-House. Lord Cathcart was appointed to organize a corps called the British Legion, of which he himself says, "I was employed in 1778 to incorporate certain independent Provincial Dragoons and infantry, and to raise recruits to form a corps of light troops; the scheme was my own, and it was to be called the British Legion. I was Colonel Commandant and appointed my own officers. The Provincial clothing was too Gaudy and the accoutrements too Slight: I had to arrange for myself in these respects. Six weeks after the corps was established, the cavalry marched to the front under Colonel Tarleton, the infantry under Major Cochran." Although ill with fever, he embarked with his corps in the expedition against Georgia and South Carolina; but while encamped on James Island, near Charleston, he was relieved from duty on surgeon's certificate and returned to New York, where he was appointed Quartermaster-General, resigning which he joined the Thirty-eighth Regiment, and was second in command of the first Battalion of Grenadiers of the army. A relapse of the fever compelled him to return to England, when he was appointed, February 10, 1781, Captain in the Coldstream Foot Guards. He attained the full rank of General in the British army, and his eminent military services are well known in history. He was advanced to the dignity of Earl Cathcart, June 18, 1814, died at his seat "Cartside," near Glasgow, June 16, 1843, and was buried in Paisley Abbey.

23, and on April 17 of that year began his administration and became a member of the Council. It is evident that one to whom so many important offices were given, and who was capable of holding them all at the same time, must have inspired the confidence of the British Government and his immediate superior officers as to his ability, integrity, and executive powers.

Major-General James Pattison, commandant at New York, on relinquishing the command, wrote a letter, August 12, 1780, to Lieutenant-Governor Elliot, as head of the Military Court of Police, in which he stated it was to this court that the city was greatly indebted for the peace, good order, and justice which had been maintained, and commended their "cool and temperate judgment, their candid and impartial council and their active and watchful care." Lieutenant-Governor Andrew Elliot, General Robertson, and Chief-Justice Smith were appointed, September 30, 1780, by Sir Henry Clinton, a committee to proceed to General Washington's headquarters at Dobbs' Ferry, and intercede on behalf of Major André. They carried a letter from Sir Henry Clinton to General Washington, in which he stated that the board of officers who tried Major André were not rightly informed of all the circumstances of the case, and that he thought General Washington should be apprised of the true facts. In a letter to Lord Cathcart, dated October 4, 1780, after referring to Arnold's secret correspondence, Governor Elliot said that Colonel Robinson and André were to meet Arnold, but accidents prevented. With regard to his efforts to save André, he said that while Washington expressed a high opinion of his character, he would not allow him to land with General Robertson; and, after describing the circumstances of André's trial and execution, as already known, he added that when André was refused permission to leave his watch to a friend, an officer present, named Harrison, stepped forward and paid thirty guineas for it and gave it to André, for which he gave an order on Mr. Henry White, of New York. He also stated that André was cool and determined, and on "every occasion declared

the change of name and clothes was contrary to General Clinton's orders."[1]

Lieutenant-Governor Elliot and others forming the Council of the Province in 1780, presented an address to General James Robertson, Governor-in-Chief, condemning the promoters of the Revolution, censuring them for refusing the conciliatory offers of Great Britain, and attributing to them the unhappy condition of the country; it expressed sympathy for the sufferings of the loyal people, and gratitude for the benevolent proclamations issued by Great Britain.

Elliot was given power by the Commissioners and Governor of the Royal Hospital for Seamen at Greenwich to collect and receive all unclaimed or forfeited shares of prize and bounty money due to that hospital, and published a notice to that effect on March 14, 1781, from his office, 215 Water Street, New York.

After the capitulation of Cornwallis, in 1781, while greatly regretting that misfortune to the British cause, Governor Elliot appears to have expected the Independence of the States, but was of the opinion that if England could get allies, prevent the French from assisting the "Rebels," and entirely overcome what was "never dreamt of, superiority at sea," then they would soon compel the "Rebels" to accept terms favorable to Great Britain; but if she should have to stand alone, with half of Europe and all America against her, he feared she in turn would have to accept terms. He wrote, "The alarm here is great, everybody talking of going, from an idea that this place will be given up: there is no dread of capture. The giving up (of) this place, of which I have no fear, would be to give up everything. . . . All I beg of my friends is, as soon as possible, to inform me when it is intended to abandon America, an event I will not anticipate; it is determining the ruin of Great Britain." He was opposed to encouraging emigration until the intentions of the government were known, and thought that care should be taken not to give too freely to those who ran away, as otherwise multitudes would follow to "get a cut at the same loaf,"

[1] Cathcart MSS.

and would not permit his family to leave New York, because, from the light in which he stood in the community, it would create greater alarm. He said, "If America is to be given up Bills should be drawn and gold and silver received, which should be put on board of men-of-war: Government Bills will call in all the money, as even disaffected people will prefer bills in money at Home (in England) to the risk of being plundered here. My fate and (that of) America is closely connected. I shall, although I wish for quiet, be the last to leave, whilst Great Britain has any prospect left, if I can be of any service; when it is otherwise, I don't think I can stoop to ask Congress for my own, nor to a ruined country for bread; and perhaps, after losing a fortune and spending a life in the cause of Great Britain be insulted by a disappointed Minister. I leave, as I always do, my own situation to fate. I look for Allies meanwhile; Europe cannot see England overpowered, and if not, America is still hers."

In another interesting letter to Lord Cathcart he says, "Although my life here is a plaguey one yet I confess I have every support. General Clinton is ever more friendly, if possible, (and) I am much with him. General Robertson shows me every mark of attention, and the Commandant and I go on vastly well; out of my own line I never meddle, and in it I have plenty to do. The General feels full confidence in me and be assured I do with candour and firmness act and give, when called upon, my sentiments; otherwise I should ill requite his friendship and the character I aim at."

General Robertson, Governor-in-Chief of the Province, seems to have had the highest regard for Lieutenant-Governor Elliot, for on May 7, 1781, he wrote to Lord Germaine: "Well knowing the talents and disposition of Lieut. Governor Elliot, I am perfectly satisfied he will continue every endeavor we have jointly used to make Government agreeable to the people, and hope on the whole that the King's service will not suffer by my absence from the Province."

Of Prince William Henry (William IV.), then in New

York, under the guardianship of Admiral Digby, he wrote: "I think it a pity the Prince, who is really a charming lad, should be here, as I can't think it a good place for youth; but the Admiral seems a discreet, careful man, and sixteen requires such a one." "The Prince must find it dull; but it would not do to let him run out. The Admiral is very attentive to him; he was at Sir H. Clinton's Ball on the Queen's birth night, and danced with Mrs. Douglas (Miss Burdges that was)."

In 1781 there appears to have been some dissatisfaction expressed by the Ministry on the management of the Collector's office in New York, which roused Governor Elliot's indignation, and induced him to write to Lord Cathcart, on December 8, an earnest letter, in which he alludes to himself as "an old servant to Government, who has in most trying situations behaved so as to obtain their approbation, who alone of the Crown Officers risked his person to support the Royal authority, and the Acts of trade, who has lost without complaint a large fortune, and who has conducted the trade of New York so as to prevent trouble to Government, when Government seemed, as it does now, at a loss what orders to give. . . . The money is not my object, I have lost my fortune and I don't shrink from honest poverty, my reputation as a man and an upright officer of Government I ever can and will maintain. I ever wish to obey orders, but many orders, from bad information given by the self interested, ignorant of the real situation, have been given that could not be complied with. . . . I demanded leave from Sir Henry Clinton to embark this day for England, but have not been able to obtain it. Sir Henry said that if I went the trade would stop, . . . In such a situation surely there cannot be any dispute about duties; the Treasury is fully informed and will in a future day thank me. Sir Henry made me, though with a bad grace, relinquish my plan of going. He is writing to Lord North and begged me to do the same. I have however addressed myself to you, and beg you will ask Lord North to have my conduct inquired into. I wait his Lordship's reply; if

there is cause for complaint I will go to England and demand examination or trial. . . . If Lord North had investigated they would have plainly seen that I have attended not so much to my own situation as to the guarding of the Administration."

On the same date he wrote in another letter: "I have been up all night arranging papers with a view to going home in the fleet, and am still in great agitation of spirits. I beg you to show the enclosed letter to Lord North. I wait an answer with impatience. I will only add the General's real uneasiness prevented my going. The Treasury know little of me if they think the withholding or paying any sum could deter or bribe me to do what ought not to be done. To support Administration on laudable principles is my whole principle; but I am alone."

In March, 1782, there was a change of administration in England, and Sir Guy Carleton having superseded Sir Henry Clinton on May 5, Governor Elliot, contrary to expectations, was retained in office. He fully believed the joint letter of Sir Guy Carleton and Admiral Digby, of August 2, 1782, to General Washington, established the Independence of the United States, and wrote that the inhabitants of New York were "dejected and wretched."

The British Government having confidence in the ability and integrity of Lieutenant-Governor Elliot, again sent him on an important mission. He, together with General Campbell, were appointed commissioners to meet the American commissioners, General Knox and Gouverneur Morris, at Elizabethtown, N. J., for the purpose of agreeing upon an exchange of prisoners and settling the accounts for the support of them.

He wrote, October 5, 1782, relative to this meeting: "I went to Tappan with General Campbell as a Commissioner from Sir Guy Carleton to meet Commissioners from General Washington, about a general cartel. Both sides disputed the terms in which their powers respectively were couched so no business was done. The real object was only to feel our pulse as to independency. So we staid and ate

and drank together very sociably for two days and then parted. Generals Knox and Heath (?) were Washington's commissioners."

In a letter to Lord Cathcart, dated April 30, 1783, he refers to a proposed conference: "The day after to-morrow I set off with Sir Guy Carleton to meet Gen[l] Washington and Governor Clinton. We go up the river in a frigate on board of which the meeting is to be. Gen[l] Washington proposed it. I cant think the meeting will answer any good. Washington will ask merely for the prisoners, and Clinton will ask for immediate possession of the town of New York. The General (Sir Guy Carleton) however does not wish to refuse to meet Gen[l] Washington. I am always ready to obey, and as I have recovered, I can at least laugh."[1] In a subsequent letter he wrote: "Sir Guy Carleton got fever and ague the day after we arrived at Tappan; we returned in four days. Everything proposed was gone through with. We dined with Gen[l] Washington at Tappan, and he dined (with us) on board the man-of-war. Gen[l] Washington was particularly civil to me, renewed our old acquaintance, and he was so good as to pay me many compliments on the character I had supported in the office I filled at N. Y. and Gov. Clinton did the same; and all assure me my Estate in this Province is safe. They also say they are very sorry I am leaving the country and hoped I would at least stay till the town was delivered up. All this is very well and I believe sincere, but I want nothing to detain me here. I find I should be unhappy, although I believe I am more esteemed in this Province than I ever shall be in any (other) part of the world, and would meet with every support and attention. But I cannot stay; my feelings would hourly be hurt through others, and by what might not be intended to hurt me."

It is proper to state here that the official conduct of Lieutenant-Governor Elliot appears never to have been censured by any Loyalist except Judge Thomas Jones, who doubted his ability and questioned his integrity, but at the

[1] Governor Elliot had been ill twelve weeks with fever.

same time could not refrain from saying, "he was kind, friendly, and hospitable to his countrymen and friends; was generous to the poor; was a gentleman born and had a good heart."

In proof of his kindness of heart and sympathy for the sufferings even of those who were opposed to him, Alexander Graydon, in his interesting memoirs, states that while a prisoner in New York, his mother having in vain sought to obtain his release by application to persons of supposed influence, "finally resolved to address herself to Mr. Andrew Elliot who was a person of respectability and well known both in Philadelphia and New York." His advice was that she should go at once in person to General Howe, adding, "Those you have applied to or may apply to, have little or no interest, though they may not choose to say so; but a direct personal application to the Commander in Chief will, I verily believe, be propitious to your wishes." Resolving to act on his advice, she boldly went to General Howe, and from his manner towards her, and the promptness with which he granted her request, it may be inferred that Mr. Elliot had quietly interceded in her son's behalf.

While full of despondency at the defeat of the British cause, the loss of office, property, and a home, and in great anxiety for the future welfare of his family, Governor Elliot's life was brightened by the marriage of his daughter, Agnes Murray, to Sir David Carnegie, at Edinburgh, on April 30, 1783. He wrote that "Nancy's (Lady Carnegie's) being so well settled is most satisfactory. If Sir David makes her as happy as Betsy (Lady Cathcart) is, I must be allowed to be the most fortunate of men."

After peace was proclaimed, in 1783, Governor Elliot determined to remove with his family to Scotland, being confident that a residence in the United States would be at least disagreeable, if not unsafe, on account of the active part he took as an officer of the British Government. He sent his family away in the frigate "Nonsuch," Captain Truscott, on July 9 of that year. Prior to his own departure he received, from several eminent persons in the Ameri-

can service, letters expressing their highest estimation of his character and conduct during the Revolution.

Elias Boudinot wrote to Governor Elliot the following letter:

"PRINCETON, 29th October 1783

"SIR,—Being lately informed, with some degree of certainty, that you mean to leave the city of New York for Europe with the British troops, and not knowing whether it was a matter of choice, or from any apprehensions of your remaining being disagreeable to the State, permit me, Sir, to offer you any services in my power, and to assure you that, as far as I can judge, your stay will be both agreeble and pleasing to any State where you may think proper to reside, and to promise that I will undertake to obtain the most ample acknowledgment of this temper from the Government of either of the States you may think proper, for this purpose, if you should require it.

"Having been fully convinced of the rectitude of your conduct throughout the late disagreeable contest, and having experienced the happy effects of your liberality and benevolence to multitudes of our unhappy citizens, who have suffered captivity by the fortune of war, I could not withhold my testimony to your goodness, and contribute my mite in giving you your election as to your residence in this country, as far as was in my power.

"I have the honor to be, with great respect and esteem

"Sir,

"Your most obedient and very humble Servant,

"ELIAS BOUDINOT.

"THE HONORABLE ANDREW ELLIOT ESQ^R."

That Governor Elliot made a most favorable impression upon General Knox while acting as commissioner for the exchange of prisoners is evident from the following extract:

"General Knox, understanding that Mr. Elliot is still in New York, cannot refrain from expressing an ardent desire for his felicity. He begs indulgence when he assures Mr. Elliot that the impressions of respect for him are too strong to be effaced, and that, notwithstanding the perplexing business which gave birth to their acquaintance, he hopes that some future occasion may occur when, unshackled by opposite interests, he may fully enjoy those sentiments which

were inspired by the liberal and polite conduct of Mr. Elliot.

"HAERLEM, Sunday Evening, 23d November 1783

"THE HONORABLE ANDREW ELLIOT ESQR. NEW YORK."

The following letter from General Washington will indicate the regard he had for Governor Elliot:

"NEW YORK, 1st December 1783.

"SIR,—Upon the receipt of your letter respecting Mrs. Jauncey, I did myself the pleasure of waiting upon that lady; and beg you to be persuaded that I shall be happy in occasions of rendering her any service which may be in my power.

"I am confident, Sir, it must give you great satisfaction to be informed that the most perfect regularity and good order prevail in this city, and that every description of people find themselves under the protection of the laws of the State.

"Wishing you a safe passage and an agreeable sight of your friends,[1]

"I remain, with great regard,

"Sir,

"Your most Obedient Servant

"GO. WASHINGTON.

"THE HONORABLE ANDREW ELLIOT, ESQR."

Governor Elliot sailed from New York for Great Britain during the month of December. His property in New York was not confiscated as has been stated, but was in Pennsylvania. The Executive Council of Pennsylvania issued a proclamation that he should appear within a specified time to take his trial for treason, failing to do so he should stand attainted. His wife's property in Philadelphia, which she inherited from her grandfather, Clement Plumsted, was also confiscated, although it had never been transferred to Governor Elliot. It was purchased by a former friend and manager of their real estate for twenty years. When application was made to him concerning this property, he replied that he had purchased it to make money,

[1] Original letters to Governor Elliot at Kinnaird Castle; and Cathcart MSS.

and Mrs. Elliot was compelled to compromise with him by giving him fee simple for half the estate; the other half Governor Elliot, prior to his departure from the United States, sold to Abel James for £5200, being one-third its value, and was compelled to do so to avoid going to Great Britain a beggar.[1]

After his return to Scotland he wholly retired from politics and held no public office, living first at St. George's Square, Edinburgh. He then purchased a seat called "Greenwells," where he devoted his time to agriculture, residing mostly at Mount Teviot, near by, the seat of his brother, Admiral John Elliot, between whom there existed a strong fraternal affection and intimacy.[2]

The British Government was somewhat tardy in its acknowledgment of services rendered by Governor Elliot and in compensating him for the loss of property in the United States, but he was finally rewarded with a pension.[3]

It was in 1790 that a plan was formed for the purpose of sending Governor Elliot out to the United States as British Minister. Mr. Dundas, the well-known statesman, the Hon. Hugh Elliot, and others, took part in this scheme. It was proposed to send him with a letter to Washington to settle preliminaries, and, as soon as Congress had confirmed a proper person as Minister to Great Britain, then he was to present his credentials as British Minister. They failed to induce Governor Elliot to accept the proposition, partly owing, no doubt, to ill health and to an aversion to enter upon scenes that were painful to him.[4]

Rev. Dr. Somerville[5] mentions having been present at Lord Minto's with Governor Elliot and Mr. Burke, when the latter strongly expressed his admiration of Washington's character and ability. Dr. Somerville alluded to this

[1] Carnegie's "Earls of Southesk," Fraser, Edinburgh, 1867, from Governor Elliot's papers at Kinnaird Castle and Cathcart MSS.

[2] Family letters.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Private documents of Governor Elliot at Kinnaird and family letters.

[5] In "My own Life and Times."

subject afterwards in a conversation with Governor Elliot, who, he says, replied, that "if the most artful caution constituted greatness of character, Washington certainly had a just claim to the precedency Mr. Burke has assigned to him;" for that "he always waited for the opinion of others before he declared his own;" by which he understood Governor Elliot to mean that Washington yielded craftily to the current of popular sentiment, and that he was rather the defender than the instigator of the independence of America. At the same time Mr. Elliot checked his curiosity for more particular information by saying that "American affairs were to him a source of such painful recollection that he wished never to make them the subject of discourse, and, even if it were possible, to expel them from his thoughts."

Both in public and private life Governor Elliot appears to have made many friends and few enemies. He corresponded with relatives in Philadelphia for many years after he resided in Scotland, and his letters indicate that he had a vivid and pleasant recollection of all his friends. He died at Mount Teviot, May 25, 1797, of a stroke of paralysis, his wife and oldest three daughters surviving him. Mrs. Elliot died suddenly, of organic affection of the heart, at Edinburgh, in the early part of May, 1799, and was buried beside her husband at Minto.[1]

[1] The writer is greatly indebted to the Earl of Southesk for valuable information, and to Earl Cathcart for extensive notes, copies of letters in his own and the Earl of Minto's possession, and for a photograph of a miniature portrait of Governor Elliot, from which the etching accompanying this sketch has been taken.

UNPUBLISHED MINUTES OF THE PROVINCIAL COUNCIL OF PENNSYLVANIA, 1692.

[Among the papers purchased by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania from the heirs of Proprietor Penn, were found some fragments of the minutes of the Provincial Council for the year 1692. Their publication now adds one more of the many missing links in the Provincial history of our Commonwealth.—ED.]

Att a Councill held in ye Councill Roome att Philadelphia the 4th of ye second month 1692:

Present.

William penn absolute propriet^r^ and Governo^r^ of the province of pensilvania and Countys' annexed—by his Deputys Thomas Lloyd and William Markham.

Members of Councill present:

Joseph Growdon	William Biles
Jno. Delavall	John Cann
Jno. Bristow	George Martin
Hugh Roberts	Sam^ll^ Gray
Sam^ll^ Levis	Albertus Jacobs
William Jenkins	Richard Hallywell.
Griffith Owen	

The members of ye Committee reported to the Board that after ye perusall of ye Laws, their sence for their continuance as at New Castle 1690 And further y^t^ ye same bee proposed by a Bill to be promulgated accordingly, and that the first excepted Laws in ye said Act of Continuance att New Castle bee entirely Subjicted to ye determination of ye next Generall Assembly.

And that ye Word Geese be added ye Law ag^{t} Hoggs only at New Castle.

That a New Bill bee prepared for ye Constituting of Provinciall Judges to ye further satisfacton and respective Convenencys of ye Province and Territoryes.

That a Bill bee prepared ag^{t} fforeigners tradeing with ye Indians and ag^{t} any persons in the Govem^{t} of ye Province and Territoryes to trade with them out of their Mansion Houses or ye most publick places or Townes in ye Respective Countys.

The Committee further proposed to ye Governo^{r} and Councill the Consideration of a Bill for ye Confirmation of such patents for Lotts and Lands that have hitherto passed the Lesser Seal and that for ye fuiture may pass the Greater Seal.

That a Bill bee prepared for ye support of ye Govem^{t}.

Joseph Growdon, Jno. Delavall and Jno Bristow are desired to prepare a Bill for ye Continuance of ye Laws and another for ye support of ye Govm^{t}.

John Cann Richard Hallwell and George Martin are desired to prepare the other Bills proposed and what more they see convenient.

Adjourned till foure in ye afternoone

Post Meride.

Present as in ye forenoone

Samuell Jennings Receiver Generall by his petition to ye Board requested their assistance in proposing a Method for ye easier Collecting the Governor's Quitt Rents which was Unanimously received and ordered to bee taken into Consideracon the next sitting.

Adjourned till 7 in ye morning being ye 5th day of ye 2^{d} month.

Then present

William Penn Absolute proprietary and Govern^{or} by his Deputy Thomas Lloyd and William Markham

Members of Councill present

Joseph Growdon	Sam^{ll} Levis
Arthur Cooke	Griffith Owen
Jno Delavall	Jno Cann
Jno Bristow	Richard Hallywell
Hugh Roberts	Albertus Jacobs
Willm. Jenkins	Geo Martin
Willm Biles	

The Bill for Continuance of Law Read ye first tyme and passed in ye affirmative

The Bill about Provinciall Judges read ye first tyme & passed in ye Affirmative.

Governor Duns Commission to Patrick Robinson for ye Office of Attorney Generall dated ye 11th day of ye 8th month 1691 was read and well approved of by the Board.

The Bill prohibiting Non-Residens to Trade wth ye Indians and also Inhabitants Except in their Mansion Houses was read and referrd to addition and Ammend^{mts}.

The Bill to prevent ye Iniquity of ffelony and Burglary was read ye first tyme.

The Bill to raise money for ye support of the Govemt was read ye first tyme.

Post Merid.

Persons as in ye morning.

A Bill imposting ye methods of paying and leaving ye Govermt Quitt Rents—layd aside.

A Bill concerning Hoggs Geese etc.—layd aside.

The other 5 above mentioned Bills read in ye morning was read the 2^{d} tyme and passed in the affirmative.

Adjourned till 8 next morning.

The 6th day of ye 2^{d} Month.

Then present

William Penn Absolute proprietary Governor by his Dep^{y} Thomas Lloyd and Capt William Markham.

Members of Councill present.

Joseph Growdon	Griffith Owen
Arthur Cooke	Saml Levis
Jno Delavalle	Jno Cann
Jno Bristow	Richd Halliwell
Hugh Roberts	Albertus Jacobs
William Jenkins	Geo. Martin
William Biles	Richd Wilson
	Sam^{ll} Grey

This day a Lr. that was prepared by Order of this Board in order to bee sent to Govern^{or} Dun (imposting their Greate like and approbation of ye present Deputation for ye Executive parte of ye Govermt. of this Province and Territorys And the happy Union and Understanding that now is and is like to continue between his people here) was read approved of and Subscribed by the Lt. Governo^{r} of the Province and Territories and by every Member there present.

The Members of this Board have recommended to ye Choice and Election of ye Lt. Governo^{r} such persons as hee shall think fitt to serve as provinciall Judges for ye next Provinciall Court to bee held in ye respective County^{s} wth in this province according to Law.

This day the 5 beforementioned promulgated Bills, vizt: A Bill for Continuance of Laws, The Bill about Provinciall Judges—That prohibiting non Residence to trade & That To prevent ye impunity of ffelons. And a Bill to raise money for ye support of ye Goverm^{t} were all read the third tyme and passed in the Affirmative

The Legislative Councill is adjourned till the 10th day of ye 3^{d} moth next according to Charter.

Att a Meeting of the Dep'ty Governor & Council the 19th day of ye Third Month, 1692:

Present

The Deputy Governor

Arthur Cook	Griffith Owen
John Delavall	John Bristow
Hugh Roberts	Samuel Levis

Upon reading of George Heathcote's petiton, It is Ordered That this petiton shal be considered of at ye next Council and then an Answer given thereunto.

Upon reading of Micha Thomas' petiton It appears that this matter haveing been before the prov[l] Co[ll] The Members present are not willing to intermedle further therein.

Upon reading of a petiton for a fferry at Wm Powell's It is referred to the Consideracon of the Justices of ye County Cort to order the premises.

Att a Meeting of the Governor & Council held at the Council Room at Philadelphia the 20th 7th mo. 1692.

Present

Thomas Lloyd, Deputy Governor

John Delavall	Joseph Growdon
John Bristow	Wm Biles
Hugh Roberts	Samuel Levis
Wm Jenkins	Griffith Owen

Upon reading of George Heathcote' peticon cravering Releife ag[st] the Judgm[t] rendered by the Judges at y[e] last prov[l] Cort held at philadelphia whereby a verdict & Judgm[t] for the pet[r] (grounded upon a grand jury's presentm[t]) at a late County Cort is declared to be reversed (suggesting, That because the ffact then found agt Jeremy Elfreth Thomas Groves & Thomas East being Burglary is an Enormous Crime Therefore the sd County Court had no Jurisdiccon thereof.) It is moved on the pet[r] behalf That he may now receive an answer to his former peticon exhibited here at the last general Assembly on the same occasion (setting forth That the sd. provincial Judges in rendering their sd.

Judgment had manifestly erred and how they would not grant him an Appeal from that their Judgm^{t} to the Governor and Council. And withall Desireing ye Board to allow him his sd. Appeal. And to cause the parties concerned to appear at such time & place As the Governor & Council should think fitt in order to the hearing of such Errors as the pet^{r} can Assigne in the sd. Judges procedure. All which being duly weighed & Considered with a tender Regard as well to the Judgm^{t} & legal proceedings of all ye Corts of Judicature as to the merits of the free & lawfull men of this Governm^{t}. And least upon pretence of interfereing of Jurisdiccons there may happen a failure of Justice, Or any opportunity bee given for offenders to fly from or avoid the Judgm^{t} of Law:

It is hereby Ordered That the Record & proceedings aforesd be sent by One of the Judges of the sd provincial Cort to the next General Assembly to be held for this province so that ye Governor or his dep^{ty} for the time being with the Advice of the freemen in the sd. general Assembly may inspect ye same. And may further doe what of right & according to Law ought to be done for the correcting of the aforesd Error (If any be)

And it is hereby further Ordered That Jo^{n} White, high Sheriff of the County of Philadelphia, do forthwith take into his Custody ye sd Jeremy Elfreth, Thomas Groves & Thomas East (If found in his Ballywick and them safely keep & have at the sd general Assembly to hear the premises & further to do & receive that wch by the sayd general Assembly shall be considered of in y^{t} behalf. And in the mean time the sd. provincial Judges are to forbear & stop all further proceedings at ye prov^{l} Cort concerning the premises.

Whereas the Art & Manufacture of printing exercised by such as have been brought up in that profession hath been thought fitt to be encouraged as a very useful science & the well Governm^{t} & regulating of printers & printing presses declared by the King & parliament of England to be a matter of publick Care & great Concern. And the unlawfull & exorbitant practice of such licentious & evil disposed persons who within the King's Dominions or in parts beyond the

Seas shall print publish or sell Seditious Books & pamphlets is likewise declared to have a tendency to the dishonor of God & indangering ye peace of the Kingdom & raising a disaffeccon to the King & his Governm^{t}: ffor prevention whereof an Act of parliament was made in the 13th & 14th of Charles ye Second & frthence continued by divers Acts of parliam^{t}. Wherein Amongst other things It is Enacted That every person & persons that shall hereafter print or cause to be printed any Book &c or any other thing or things whatsoever shall thereunto or thereon printed sett his or their own name or names And also shall declare the name of the author thereof If he be thereunto required—upon pain of forfeiture of all such Books &c. or other thing or things printed contrary to the Tenor of the sd Act. And the presses, Letters & types, Instrum^{ts} for printing wherewith such Books &c. shal be so printed or set or prepared for printing thereof to be defaced & made unserviceable. And that the master printer ought to imploy to work at ye Case or press or otherwise ab^{t} his printing any person but such only as are Englishmen & freemen or the Sons of freemen or apprentices to the sd. Trade. And moreover That the persons offending ag^{t} the sd Act or any Clause or thing therein contained & thereof convicted by Verdict, Confession or otherwise shall for ye first Offence be disenabled from exerciseing their respective trade for three years. And for the second Offence should forever thenceafter be disabled to exercise the art of printing. And shall receive such further punishm^{t} by fine Imprisonm^{t} or other Corporall punishm^{t} not extending to Life or Limb as the Justices of the King's Bench or Justices of Oyer & Terminer or Justices of Assize or Justices of the peace in their severall Quarter Sess. shal be thought fitt to be inflicted. The which Justices of the Peace are thereby impowered to hear & determine all offences agt the sd Act or agt any branch thereof And to award process & execution thereupon as by the sd Statute may more at large appear.

Now for as much as The due Execucon as well of the Laws of this province (wherewith the Magistrates here are

intrusted by the King & Governor) as also of those Laws of England which relate to the preservacon of the peace & common utility of mankind And may be properly adapted & applyed to o^r present Emergencys will very much conduce to honor of Trueth, the quiet Government of this province and the tranquility of the peaceable people thereof. And for as much as this Board haveing Duely weighed & seriously considered the present Disaffeccon & Contempt of Authority introduced & industriously promoted of late by some furious Male Contents to the great disquietude of ye peace of the province and to the violation of that Neighbourhood & Charity which were somewhat conspicious among us. And Wm Bradford a professed printer here though under severall obligations of fidelity to the Governm^t and severall tymes cautioned not to publish any paper or book which might either reflect on authority or contain personal reflections to the promoting of feudes & animositys among the Inhabitants here, yet through his Enmity & officiousness he hath prostrated the use & service of his press to gratify a troublesome number of a disaffected Society.

Therefore it is hereby declared to be the unanimous Sense of this Board That the provincial Judges and Justices of the peace of this province within their respective Jurisdiccons shall use their Xtian Care & prudence to prevent & suppress the Books and pamphlets within this province as either want the Author's or printer's name set thereunto as the sd act directs Or are printed by such as are unqualified to print by the sd Act Or which have a tendency to sedicon & disturbance of the peace Or to the subversion of the present form of Government. Or to the raising of Dislike in the people of this province towards the proprietory or towards each other Or to ye Contempt of Magistrates or Magistracy under the penalties & forfeitures in the sd recited Act of parl^t comprised.

Adjourned to-morrow to 8 in ye forenoon.

Att the Council Room held at Philadelphia the 21th 7thm 1692.

Present

Thomas Lloyd Deputy Govr

Arthur Cook	Joseph Growdon
Jo^{n} Delavall	Wm Biles
Hugh Roberts	Samuel Levis
Wm Jenkins	

This Board Intending to caution the printers concerning the Order of yesterday's sitting Did send for Wm Bradford & his servant. But the Sheriff returned Answer That the sd Bradford is gone out of Town to stay for a week And his Man is gone to Wm Salways plantacon as his Mr informed the Sheriff.

Adjourned till ye 15th of November next or till further order if occasion.

A LEAF FROM THE GREEN MOUNTAINS.

BY B. FERNOW, ALBANY, N. Y.

The *Magazine of American History* brought in its number of January, 1887, a "Curious Chapter in the History of Vermont." Mr. Payne, who wrote this chapter, was, as a Canadian, not refrained by considerations which have hitherto prevented the writer of this article, a foreign-born citizen of the United States, from destroying in the hearts and minds of the American public one of their idols and great heroes in the struggle to which they owe their autonomy. As, however, a magazine, published in New York, has opened the door to such iconoclastic deeds, the "Curious Chapter" is herewith supplemented and continued.

In order to fully understand the position taken by the actors in the drama about to be described, we must hark back somewhat and look at the beginning of the English settlements on the soil of what is now known as Vermont.

King Charles II. of England had granted to his brother, the Duke of York, later James II. of England, "all the land from the West side of Connecticut River to the East side of Delaware Bay." When Benning Wentworth was appointed Governor of "our Province of New Hampshire" by George II., his new government was indicated to be "bounded on the South side, by a similar Curve line pursuing the Merrimac River, at three Miles distance, on the North side thereof, beginning at the Atlantic Ocean and ending at a point due North of a place called Pawtucket Falls, and by a Straight Line drawn from thence due West Cross the said River till it meets with our other Governments and bounded on the South Side by a line passing up through the mouth of Piscataqua Harbour, and up the Middle of the River, to the River of Newichwannock, part of

which is now called Salmon Fall, and through the middle of the same to the Furthest head thereof and from thence two degrees Westerly, untill one hundred and twenty miles be finished from the Mouth of Piscataqua Harbour aforesaid, or untill it meets with our other Governments."

No attempt was made to encroach with these bounds upon the grant to the Duke of York, for it is expressly said "a line drawn due West . . . till it meets with our other Governments." Governor Wentworth, however, did not choose to interpret these clearly defined bounds as satisfactory to his desire of governing a large tract of land. He was ordered by his royal master, in 1749, "to make grants of the unimproved lands in his government," and found, through his surveyors, that the boundaries between New Hampshire and Massachusetts came to the Hudson River near the mouth of the Mohawk. The country north of Albany and the mouth of the Mohawk had been settled by New Yorkers for nearly a century, for New Yorkers had pushed northward along the Hudson and up to Lake George as early as the seventeenth century. On communicating his views regarding the boundaries of his Province to Governor George Clinton, of New York, the Council of this Province informed him that the Connecticut River was the eastern boundary of New York, according to the grant of 1664 by Charles II. On former occasions New York had been careless or over-indulgent. It had conceded to Connecticut and Massachusetts lands west of the Connecticut River, and therefore New Hampshire believed also to have a vested right to cross that river and appropriate the lands west of it to its own uses. Wentworth acquainted Governor Clinton that, before the receipt of the Council's reply, he had granted a township due north of the Massachusetts line, containing six miles square, and by measurement twenty-four miles east of the city of Albany.

The ignorance of geography and topography was then not less than it is nowadays among the English people, and the Council of New York was not quite sure whether this tract of land or part of it had not already been dis-

posed of or granted by the government of New York. Not willing to go to war about this matter, the boundary dispute was laid before the King in Council. "Thus the matter rested," says Cadwallader Colden, Lieutenant-Governor of New York in 1764, in a letter to the Lords of Trade, "until the incursions of the Indians into this province, immediately preceding the late War, put an intire stop to any new settlements and rendered both Governments less solicitous to bring this controversy to an issue. The Govern' of New York confiding that New Hampshire, after what had passed, would not venture to make any further Grants, until his Majesty should be pleased to determine the limits between his two provinces . . . . "

"But how great was the surprise of this Government, when they lately discovered, that New Hampshire had since the transactions above recited, granted upwards of thirty, some affirm one hundred and sixty townships, each six miles square, westward of Connecticut River."

Here the seed for the quarrel that ensued was most effectively planted. But the dispute, so far as it concerned the jurisdiction of the two colonies, was settled by an order of the King in Council, made the 20th of July, 1764, declaring the Connecticut River to be the boundary between New York and New Hamsphire.

The settlers under New Hampshire patents viewed their transfer to another jurisdiction without uneasiness, as they presumed their property and civil rights would not be touched, but remain as well protected under the laws of New York as they had been under New Hampshire. Their confidence was, however, soon disturbed. Legal minds in New York, perhaps covetous of the fertile lands in the New Hampshire grants, discovered that *jurisdiction* meant the same thing as right of property, and that since the King had, on the 20th of July, 1764, declared the country west of the Connecticut River to be in the Province of New York, the patents given by New Hampshire were so much waste paper.

The authorities of New York quickly grasped this idea

as a means to add to their fees, for they proclaimed their willingness to let the New Hampshire settlers remain undisturbed if they would take out new patents from New York and pay the necessary fees.

Then followed the events known as the "Bennington Riots," in which Ethan Allen played so prominent a rôle that he was outlawed by New York and lost the title to whatever property he had in the Hampshire grants.

The prominent part taken by Allen in the earlier days of the struggle for liberty is too well known to bear repetition here. Allen was a prisoner in England when the following letter[1] was written by Alexander Wedderburn,[2] member of Parliament and Solicitor-General, later Attorney-General and Earl of Rosslyn, to William Eden,[3] later Lord Auckland, also a Member of Parliament and Under-Secretary of State.

This letter, dated December 27, 1775, says, "Allen, by Key's[4] account, took up arms because he was dispossessed of ye Lands he had settled between Hampshire & N. York, in consequence of an order of Council settling the boundary

[1] Auckland MSS., University Library, Cambridge.

[2] *Alexander Wedderburn* was Member of Parliament and Solicitor-General from 1771 until appointed Attorney-General in 1778; Baron Loughborough and Chief Justice in the Court of Common Pleas, 1780; Lord High Chancellor, 1793–1801; Earl of Rosslyn, 1801; died, 1805, when George III. said, "He has not left a greater knave behind him in my dominions."

[3] *William Eden*, Member of Parliament, 1772–93; Under-Secretary of State, 1772–78; Chief of Secret Intelligence; drafted the Conciliatory Bill, 1778; Commissioner with Earl Carlisle, Lord Howe, Sir Henry Clinton, and George Johnstone, in 1778, to "treat, consult and agree upon the Means of quieting the Disorders now subsisting in certain of the Colonies, Plantations and Provinces of North America;" Lord Auckland, 1793; brother of Sir Robert Eden, the last Royal Governor of Maryland, nephew of Andrew Elliot, Lieutenant-Governor and Superintendent-General of Police of New York, cousin of Wedderburn; died, 1814.

[4] *William Key* (*Kay*) was secret intelligence correspondent of the English Government at Montreal. He died at Montreal, 1789.

The data given in these notes have been kindly furnished by Mr. B. F. Stevens, of Vermont, and of London, England.

of these two provinces & had balanced for some time whe^r^ to have recourse to ye Rebels or to Mr Carleton. The doubt of being well received by the latter, determined him to join the former. I would then send to him a Person of Confidence with this Proposal. That his Case had been favorably represented to Government, that the Injury he had suffered was some Alleviation for his crime, & that It arose from an Abuse of an order of Council which was never meant to dispossess the Settlers in the Lands in debate betw. ye two provinces. If He has a mind to return to his duty, He may not only have his pardon from Genl Howe, but a Company of Rangers and in the event if He behaves well His Lands restored. On these terms he and his Men shall be sent back to Boston at Liberty." . . .

Allen did not accept these terms, nor was he ever tried for treason. In a speech made in the House of Lords, March 5, 1776, on the treaty, which brought so many unwilling German soldiers to America, the Duke of Richmond alluded to "the case of Ethan Allen, who being found in arms, was brought home prisoner; yet Administration dared not bring him to trial, even under the favorite Act of Henry VIII., either because they knew that he could not be legally tried, or feared an *English* jury could not be prevailed on to find him guilty." In reply the Earl of Suffolk denied the imputations of doubt or fear on the part of Government, and maintained that Allen had justly forfeited his life to the offended laws of his country. "But I will tell his Grace," he continued, "the true motives which induced Administration to act as they did; we were aware that the Rebels had lately made a considerable number of prisoners, and we accordingly avoided bringing him to his trial from considerations of prudence—from a dread of the consequences of retaliation; not from a doubt of his legal guilt or a fear of his acquittal by an English jury."

May be and may not be! Allen was brought back to America, and remained a prisoner until May, 1778. Within two years after his release, we are told by Mr. Payne in the previously mentioned article and by Sparks in his biog-

raphy of Allen, Colonel Beverley Robinson, a born New-Yorker, but a colonel in the British army, and others approached Allen again. Robinson's letters to Allen, dated the 30th of March, 1780, and 2d of February, 1781, are given by Sparks. Again Allen was steadfast and true to the American cause. He attempted to transmit Robinson's communication to the Continental Congress, but his letter was intercepted, and is now in the Public Record Office of England. Extracts from it are given by Sparks. A passage in Allen's letter to Congress is, however, at variance with expressions in a letter of his to Lord Dorchester, Governor-General of Canada, after the war, and given below. Allen says, "Vermont during last Campaign defended her frontiers, & at the close of it, opened a Truce with Gen[l] Haldimand in order to settle a cartel for the mutual exchange of prisoners, which continued near four Weeks." . . .

Sparks takes the view that the negotiations which Allen and Vermont carried on with the British officers were for the purpose of preventing further hostile incursion from Canada. They served to amuse the enemy and shielded Vermont against the ravages of war.

What is one to think about Allen's intentions after reading the following letter, hitherto never published, and after examining a passage in a letter of Lord George Germain to Sir Henry Clinton, dated May 2, 1781, in which he (Lord Germain) writes: "The private accounts, which I have seen of Ethan Allen's Transactions give me hopes, that he is acting under General Haldimand's Directions, and that when the Season admits of the General's sending up a Body of Troops into Vermont, the Inhabitants declare for the King . . ."

The letter above referred to reads:

"His Excellency, the right Honourable Guy, Lord Dorchester, Commander in Chief of his Majesties Province of Quebec &c. &c. &c.

"My Lord.

"I have the honor of addressing your Lordship on the

subject of American politics, as it may respect the reciprocal interests of Great Britain and the little rising State of Vermont. Your Lordship is undoubtedly sensible of the Jealousy of the United States over Vermont, since it is not and will not be confederated with them. They proceed so far as to threaten its subjugation, when they have established their new proposed constitution and made their government sufficiently energetic. Their arguments for so doing (in case of their ability) appear to be too well founded to be disputed in a political view. For, say they, Vermont is locally situated to the waters of Lake Champlain which communicate with those of St. Lawrence, and lies contiguous to the province of Quebec, where they must be dependent for trade, business and intercourse, which naturally incline them to the British interest. They likewise frequently mention, that in the latter part of the late war, there was no fighting between the King's Troops and those of Vermont. Besides these arguments of the United States, which are truly natural, the people of Vermont further argue, that a confederation with those States would not only expose them to the displeasure of Great Britain and ruin their Commerse, but involve them in debt, if not in insolvency, and in the broils of those States relative to their federal government, concerning which they are probably as much divided, as any people have been, since the aera of historical knowledge. The vast extent of their teritory is the sourse of much of their confusion; they are spread over different climates, have different religious prejudices and interests. Furthermore the licentious notions of liberty, taught and imbibed in the course of the late revolution, operates strenuously against their uniting in any confederate government. Nevertheless there are considerations in favour of their new proposed constitutions taking place, for some government or other will be found to be necessary, and after much strife and confusion, possibly with amendments their federal system may be adopted. Should this be the final event, yet there would be a large minority opposed to it, including many leading and influential men in the several States, as well whigs as tories,

which cannot fail to render their foederal government weak, if not able to prevent its takeing place, and consequently make it difficult, precarious and probably impossible, for the United States to subjugate Vermont, which will undoubtedly be attempted by them, at such time as they may conclude that it comes within the limits of their power, without indangering their premised foederal government. Vermont can on an emmergency bring fifteen thousand able effective men into the field, who in point of prowes, would probably more than equal a like number of the troops of the united States, especially in defending themselves against the usurpation of those States on their own ground, where they are acquainted with every natural advantage. Besides, the people of Vermont having originated from the contiguous united States, and part of Families, friends and connections both from consangguynity and interest residing partly in both territories, would render it nearly or quite impossible, to bring the troops of these States against Vermont. The probability is, that they would Join them with the antifoederalists throughout the united States and crush any premised foederal government. Vermont small as she may at first appear to be, has a heavy influence in scale of the united States, and well worth the attention of Great Britain, for abstracted from their own natural population, she has a constant immigration from the united States, and whether whig or torey, it makes no odds, as they come thither, to rid themselves of exorbitant taxation, very cordially unite with the policy of the State in rejecting every Idea of a confederation with the united States, sine[1] property in the lere[1] of liberty is their main object. Should an appeal to arms be the Dernier resort, it would be in the power of the united States, to prevent Vermont from obtaining military Stores in their territory, in which case this province would be our only resourse and it is respected, that the British government, on an emmergency, would not prohibit the people of Vermont, from procuring of the merchants of

[1] Both words in the original are almost illegible.

this province, any stores which the exegancy of their affairs may require. Finally should Vermont obtain favour of the British government, it would be a delicate part of the policy, to point out the mode of it. Probably General Haldermand's policy, (your Lordships predecessor in command) would still be the best. Matters were so contrived between the General and certain men of influence in Vermont, that hostilities ceased between Great Britain and Vermont the last three years of the late war, which answered all the purposes of an allyance of nutrality and at the same time prevented the united States from taking any advantage of it. A formal publick allyance between them, or that at present Vermont should become a British province, might occasion a war between France and the United States on the one part, and Great Britain including Vermont on the other, when on the Haldermand policy it may be prevented and a friendly intercourse and commerse without any cost of protection to the Crown may be continued, and at any future day, such alteration of the policy can be made, as may suite futer emmergencies. In the time of General Haldermand's command, could British power have afforded Vermont protection, they would have been willing to have become a province of Great Britain and should the united States attempt conquest of them, they would I presume do the same, should British policy Harmonize with it, for the leading men of Vermont are not attached to a republican form of government, yet from political principles, are determined to maintain their present form of government, till they can have a better, and hope and expect, that they will be able to do it as long as the United States will be able to maintain their, or till they can on principles of mutual Interest and advantage, return to the British government without war or annoyance from the united States.

"These appear to me to be the outline of the policy, which if adopted, would be for the common interest of Great Britain and the people of Vermont, which is humbly submitted to your Lordships Considerations.

"I should not have had the assurance to have wrote to

one of the first Generals and Statesmen of Europe these matters, had not a clear sense of the danger, with which Vermont is threatened and in which my interest and preservation and that of my friends is involved, urged me to it.

"I am, my Lord, with the greatest respect and esteem your Lordships devoted, most obedient and humble

"Servt

"ETHAN ALLEN."

This letter is not dated, but Allen's reference to "the broils of those States relative to their foederal government" seems to point to the time when the Delegates of the States were in session to deliberate on the Constitution of the United States; that is to say, in ~~1787~~. July 16, 1788.

The above-mentioned article in the *Magazine of American History* seems to have roused the ire of Vermonters of the present day, as the letters in the *New York Evening Post* of March 16 and April 2 show. They call the intrigues of Ethan Allen and friends "a risky game of bluff" inspired by the "deepest and purest patriotism."

Ethan Allen's letter, quoted before, is significant enough, but to clinch the nail let us read the following extracts of an epistle inspired presumably by as "deep and pure" Christian feeling as the above patriotism. It was written by Ethan Allen's brother Levi, while in London, to the Rev. Dr. Morill, Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and is dated 29th of May, 1789:

"In Vermont are about two hundred thousand Souls, and most of them would be friendly to the Doctrines & discipline of the Church of England if proper care were taken; they were in general loyal to His Majesty during the late American War especially the latter part of it, Altho' they thought themselves hardy used by Government, for first directing the Governour of New-Hampshire to parcel out and grant the lands in Vermont, to such as would settle them, which direction was Obeyed, and then the Governour

of New York had power to regrant said lands to Other people, which was also done. . . . It was Owing Very much to the Governour of New York who regranted those Identical lands to other grantees, than those under New Hampshire, That the people in the four New England Colonies interested in those lands, Joined in the late Rebellion; and the Event is, that Religion is Almost Extinct in Vermont and new-Canada.

"Governour Chittenden & General Ethan Allen (tho' the latter is no great admirer of revealed religion) have Exerted themselves in preserving the Rights of Land to your Society and the Episcopal Church and have hitherto prevented their Sequestration and Sale with a View to Religion and political Order in the State of Vermont. Those two Gentlemen as long as they live will hold all the lands in Vermont against the claimers under New York, altho' they have seen no benefit to the Church of England for more than Seventy years. The Rights are become Valuable and many would be glad to sell them, to Secure a fund for the State of Vermont, but Mr. Chittenden & Mr. Allen with the Assistance of the Brothers of the latter have exerted themselves effectually and will continue to exert themselves in behalf of your Society, and the Episcopal Church, untill they Shall know, whether your Venerable Board will do anything towards establishing a Bishop and a College at Fort St. John, . . . which bids fair to be the Grand Emporium of New Canada & Vermont. . . .

"Vermont is an Independent republic unconnected with Congress and ever have been & wish to remain so or Come under the British Government, to which they are well disposed, they are tied by their local interest to Canada & Great Britain and hold by the same language, Religion & Blood with the latter. . . .

"I beg leave to Add on this Subject, that the Majority of the Settlers in Vermont and those that are daily emigrating from the United States[1] were during the late Rebellion

[1] Evidently a foreign country in Levi Allen's mind.

called and treated as Tories and as yet are not reconsiled to their persecutors nor to their Bishops, who were Chaplains of Congress or deserters from the Church of England, and most probably never will be.

"Should your Charter permit your Society to propagate the Christian faith in the Canton of Vermont as a Country '*in foreign parts*' Religion and policy would be promoted greatly by sending some missionaries into that country, untill those Rights of land shall be secured to the Church & your Society. . . . I am a Brother to General Allen, I have been uniformly loyal to the King of England, I am interested in the success and prosperity of Vermont, I am known to Major Holland, Samuel Gale Esqre and a number of respectable Gentlemen now in London."

We would not imply by giving these extracts that Ethan and Levi were acting in harmony; quite the contrary. The two brothers were at one time so hostile to each other that Levi challenged Ethan to fight a duel with pistols.

However, not to put blame where perhaps not unpatriotic feeling but only "crankiness" might be charged, we will turn to what the Governor, Deputy Governor, members of the Council, and some clergymen have to say on the same subject to the Archbishop of Canterbury, October 26, 1790:

"We, the Clergy & Members of the Church of England and other Protestants in Verdmont in North America, over which your Grace presides with universal satisfaction, beg leave to address you with such Deference, as is due from the inferior members to the head of an Apostolic Church and to manifest our unfeigned Gratitude to the Author of Nature, to his Britanic Majesty and to your Grace for having protected & supported the Church of England in this Quarter of the Globe, more Especially as your pious Care of Religion promoted a spirit of Loyalty in every Province during the late troubles and promises to unite this Country with Canada under one Common Head.

"Most of the Settlers in this State are poor, having been

driven from their Properties in other States on account of their Loyalty to their King and fervent zeal to the British Church & Nation, by whose foster-Care in years past they learned Christianity & civil Government: they now endure many troubles with fortitude in hopes of again enjoying the Rights of English born Subjects.

"Our local Situation, (Canada on the North & the united States on the South from which Verdmont is Separated by a lofty Mountain extending from the Gulph of St Lawrence Southwesterly to the Bay of Mexico) naturally attaches us to Canada and Kentucky-Region, whose waters head & center in the State of Verdmont; and our Inclinations with the Mountain shut out all hopes of ever joining in the federal System of the thirteen States."

So much for the deep and pure patriotism of Vermont, as manifested by its leading men one hundred years ago.

PORTRAITS OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

The following list of portraits of Franklin, with the names of their owners as far as is known, is published with a view to elicit information as to the ownership and whereabouts of several of the portraits mentioned, and of others which have not come under the editor's notice.

Artist.	Owner.
Louis Carrogis de Carmontelle.[1]	
Mason Chamberlin.[2]	
Charles Nicolas Cochin.[3]	
Joseph Sifrède Duplessis[4] (in oil).	Boston Art Museum.
" "	Boston Public Library.
" "	Mutual Assur. Co., Phila.
" "	Henry Stevens, London.
" "	On sale in Munich, Germany.
" " (in pastel).	John Bigelow, New York.
Stephen Elmer[5]. . . .	Metropolitan Art Museum, New York.
Thomas Gainsborough[6] . .	Marquis of Landsdowne.
Jean Baptiste Greuze[7] . .	Boston Public Library.

[1] The drawing by Carmontelle was first engraved in Paris about 1780, in small folio, without the engraver's name.

[2] First engraved by Edward Fisher, about 1770; a folio mezzotinto.

[3] First engraved as a folio mezzotinto, published by J. M. Will, about 1777. The late Mr. Henry Stevens had a contemporaneous copy in oil.

[4] Probably first engraved by Chevillet. In 1783 the original or a replica painted in Paris in August, 1782, was in the possession of F. Schwediauer, M.D., of London.

[5] First engraved in 1782, by T. Ryder, the prints being lettered "The Politician," for which Franklin's name was afterwards substituted.

[6] Unengraved.

[7] Probably a replica or copy of Duplessis. It has been reproduced by the heliotype process.

Artist.	Owner.
Jean Antoine Houdon (in marble)	Amer. Philosoph. Society.
David Martin[8] (original) . .	Thos. A. Biddle, of Phila.
" (replica) . .	Amer. Philosoph. Society.
Jean Baptiste Nini[9] (medallion).	
Charles Willson Peale[10] . .	Hist. Society of Penna.
" " . .	Mrs. E. D. Gillespie.
Unknown[11]	Hist. Society of Penna.
" [12]	Versailles Gallery.
" [13]	Gallery of the Louvre.
" [14]	H. C. Thompson, of Phila.
" [15] (the "Sumner portrait") . . .	Harvard College.
Unknown[16] (a supposed portrait)	B. F. Stevens, of London.
" [17]	
" [18]	
Benjamin Wilson[19] . . .	Dr. Thos. Hewson Bache.

[8] First engraved by Edward Savage; a folio mezzotinto.

[9] The earliest print met with was engraved in 1795 by Grainger.

[10] Engraved by Peale in mezzotinto about 1787. It appears to have been re-engraved in Paris from Peale's print by P. M. Alix in aqua-tint, and at the same time ascribed to Vanloo as the artist.

[11] Unengraved. Painted about 1758.

[12] Engraved by H. Wright Smith.

[13] Perhaps unengraved. There is in the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Boston, a copy by Ordway from a copy by Healy.

[14] Unengraved. There is a copy by Snyder in possession of the Library Company of Philadelphia.

[15] First engraved by G. F. Storm, for Sparks's edition of Franklin's Works.

[16] Unengraved.

[17] A bust from life, executed in France and first engraved by T. Holloway.

[18] A bust apparently from a medallion in wax, probably first engraved for the *Westminster Magazine*, October, 1780.

[19] First engraved by James McArdell, about 1761.

FREE SOCIETY OF TRADERS IN PENNSYLVANIA.

[In PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, Vol. V. p. 37, *et seq.*, we printed "The Articles, Settlement, and Offices of the Free Society of Traders in Pennsylvania, &c." We now give the "Subscriptions for the society of pennsilvania according to the printed booke of articles." James Claypoole, from whose Letter Book we recently selected some extracts, was Treasurer of the Society.—ED.]

London April 26: 1682

Springott Penn P. F.	£400
William Penn Junr P. F.	300
Letitta Penn P. F.	300
Nicholas More of London M.D^r	300
Philip Ford of London	300
James Claypoole of London merchant	200
Edward Brooke of Bloomsberry	100
Daniel Smith of marlborough distiller P. F.	25
John Blunston darbie Shire W. S.	50
Henry Greene of maidstone Kent P. F.	75
William Pemble of London P. F.	50
Robert Turner of dublin P. F.	100
Samuel Carridge of dublin P. F.	50
Thomas Callowhill of Bristol P. F.	100
John Simcockes Cheshire P. F.	100
Thomas Brassey Cheshire P. F.	100
Richard Penn P. F.	100
Henry Parker of London P. F.	25
John Grigston of maidstone Kent P. F.	50
Richard Waite at the golden Hinde Savoy	100
William Sherlow	100
John Stringfellow	50
Thomas Rudyard of London	100
Richard Davies of welch poole	50
Thomas Scott	50
William Lambell of Reading maultst.	50
John Jones of Holbourne	50
Henry Waddy	25
Richard Cony	25
Gerrard Taylor	25

Thomas Barker		£50
Robert Knight		50
Edward Peirce of London		100
John Barber		50
Caleb Pussey		25
Thomas Anderson		25
Griffith Jones		100
Benjamin Clarke		50
John Sweetaple		100
John Goodson of London		50
John Day of London		50
Edward Jefferson		50
John Knight		50
Jeslina Blessett		25
John White com^{r} of Carlow Ireland P. F.		50
Bartholomew Plumsted of Suffolk		50
Francis Burroughs mchant of London		50
Edward West merchant of London		50
William Wigon		50
Francis Plumstead		50
John Sweeting for my Son Wm Sweeting	£50	200
for my Son Charles Sweeting	£50	
for my Son Thomas Sweeting	£50	
for my Son Samuel Sweeting	£50	
William Sweeting of London merchant		50
Samuel Bathurst of London		50
George Knight of London		50
Luke Nourse of London in Cornhill		50
John Sinclaire		50
Joseph Martin		50
Joseph Martin Junr		50
John Sweetaple		50
Thomas Sweetaple		50
John Boy P. F.		50
Anthony Elton P. F.		25
Enoch Flower P. F.		25
Elizabeth Cope P. F.		25
William Bailey P. F.		25
William Withers P. F.		25
John Bezer P. F.		25
Ralph Withers P. F.		25
		5400
William Hitchcocke P. F.		£25
John Harding P. F.		25

Edward Browne P. F.	£25
Israel Noyes P. F.	25
John Clarke P. F.	25
John Hanis P. F	25
Barbra Blagdon P. F.	25
Phineas Pemberton of Boulton grocer	25
John Crow	50
John Stevens P. F.	25
Walter King of Bristoll P. F.	50
Benjamin Chambers	50
John Bertles	50
Isaac Martin	50
Thomas Goddard merch[t] Taylor	100
Thomas Rogers merchant Taylor	100
John Hall of London	25
Francis Finch of worcester	50
Dennis Rochford	25
Gilbert Maw of London	50
Joseph Webster of London	25
James Denham of London merchant	50
Joseph —owden (?)	100
William Markeham (?) P. F.	100
William Haige P. F.	100
Silas Crispin P. F.	50
Rebeckah Crispin P. F.	50
Rise —— thread P. F. (?)	25
Thomas Bond P. F.	25
Thomas Fuller P. F.	25
Robert Turner P. F. more	400
John Parker of London linen draper	50
William Bingley P. F.	25
Nathaniel Smith P. F.	50
Thomas Pleas P. F.	25
Edmond Wansel	25
Robert Child P. F.	25
Charles Jones of Bristol	50
William Wansel of London	25
Robert Drinsdale	100
Thomas Harriot P. F.	50
William Wiganmore	50
Henry Dogget E. P.	50
Charles Marshal P. F.	25
Edward Peirce for my Son Joshua Peirce	50
William Loveday of Painsark In glocester sh[r]	25
John Loveday of Painsark in glocester sheire	25

Thomas Loveday of ditto place	£25
Thomas Crome merchantaylor of London	25
Phineas Pemberton of Boulton	25
Joas Bateman of London merchant	200
William Nash of London	25
Richard Law of London	25
William Wade P. F.	100
Joseph Jones P. F.	25
Evan Lloyd of Southwarke Dyer J. S.	50
Edward Samwayes P. F.	25
Robert Sumner P. F.	25
Charles Mawhal P. F.	25
James Peters P. F.	25
John Austin P. F.	50
John Hart of Norfolk	25
Samuel Barker P. F.	50
John Whiteing P. F.	25
Richard Mills P. F.	25
Dennis Rochford P. F.	25
Thomas Farmborough	100
Thomas Morris of Crutchet Fryars London mchant	100
Nathaniel Rokeby	50
Thomas Pemble of London coat seller	50
Richard Whitpanie Butcher	50
Thomas Lee Habberdasher of Hatts	50
Arthur Barker of Witham in Essex	25
Marmaduke Robinson of London	25
John Turner Junr of London	50
Samuel Hallifield of London	50
John Stokes of London	25
John Turner Junr of London for his brother Elias	50
John Turner Junr of London more	25
Abraham Dawes of London	50
Abraham Dawes for his Son Abraham	50
John Hallifield of London	25
Thomas Williams of London Cloth worker	25
John Houghton of London	25
Thomas Harley of Kynsham	25
Thomas Williams for Mary Williams	25
James Harding phisician	50
Edward Hubber Es'q^{r} P. F.	100
John Gee P. F.	50
Jacob Fuller P. F.	25
Joseph Fuller P. F.	25
Jone Dixson Widdow P. F.	25

Thomas Weekes watch maker of London	£25
Richard Gawthorne	50
Thomas Harley Junr	25
Abraham Palmer Salesman	25
Edward Brooke for his kinsman Richard Brooke	100
William Browne	50
Thomas Williams for Mary Howel	25
John West Inman of Snow Hill	50
Richard Hawkes of London	50
George White P. F.	100
Hannah Anderson P. F.	25
Edward Samways P. F.	25
Abraham Palmer Salesman more	25
James Rogers Baker in Sothworke	50
John Fuller P. F.	50
Charles Turner of London merchant	100
Baszeleon Foster Habbadasher of London	25
Thomas Crouch maltser of Amesham	25
Richard Cockbill of London glover	50
Henry Hufft (?) Junr of London	50
Richard Adams of Southwarke	50
James Taylor P. F.	50
Thomas Pleas more P. F.	25
Mary East P. F.	25
Scicily Champion P. F.	25
John Kingsman P. F.	25
Susannah Millner P. F.	25
John Hall P. F.	25
Daniel Bullock P. F.	25
David Main (?) J. S.	50
Martha Jacques R. W.	25
Thomas Anderson for his daughter Anne	25
Thomas Williams for Mary Howel	25
Nicholas More for Eliz^{a} Geaunt	25
Nicholas More for George Madockes	25
George Wood	50
John Thomas ℘. R. Davies	50
William Jones ℘. R. Davies	50
Philip Ford	100
Christopher Keene of ye minories London	50
Castor Higgs of London Leather Seller	100
Robert Langley P. F.	50
Edward Man Senr of London	50
William Crouch of London	50
Alexander Parker ℘ J. C.	50

Ezekiel Wooley of London		£50
Joseph Strutt	£50	100
for his son James Strutt	£50	
Oliver Williams		50
Zouch Watson of London goldsm^{t}		50
S. Smith Junr of London		50
Mathew Walker Senr in fenchurch Str.		50
Mathew Walker Junr		50
Thomas Richmond of Wetham in Essex		50
Peter Bland		25
Henry Bilton of London merhant		50
James Pople		25
John Hard		25
Philip Hatts		25
Francis Tobson		25

Pennsylvania

Lasse Cock	50
Tho. Holme	50
Ralph Withers	50

RETURN OF THE PENNSYLVANIA TROOPS IN THE SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES COMMANDED BY JOSIAH HARMAR, ESQUIRE, LIEUTENANT-COLONEL COMMANDING.

FROM THE ORIGINAL MSS., WITH NOTES BY JOHN P. NICHOLSON.

HIS EXCELLENCY
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, ESQ
President
&
THE HON^ble THE SUPREME EXECUTIVE
COUNCIL
PENNSYLVANIA

To the care of Mr.
Geo. Thompson
Pittsburg.

General Harmar's letter
Recd Novr 21st 1787
inclosing a Return of the Troops——

CAMP AT POST VINCENNES.
August 7th 1787.

SIR,

I have the honor to enclose to your Excellency & the honorable the Councils a return of the Pennsylvania troops in the service of the United States dated this day.

Captain Finney having written to me that it is his wish to retire from service, there will consequently be a vacancy for an Ensign—I therefore beg leave to recommend to your Excellency and the honorable Councils Mr. Robert Thompson (a son of the Late General Thompson's) to fill the same—

I have the honor to be
With the highest esteem
& respect
Your Excellency's
&
The honorable Council's
Most hble & obed^t Servt.
JOS. HARMAR
Lt. Col. Com. 1st U.S. Reg.

HIS EXCELLENCY
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN ESQ.
President,
&
THE HON^ble THE SUPREME EXECUTIVE
COUNCIL,
pennsylvania—

Return of the Pennsylvania troops in the service of the United States, Commanded by Josiah Harmar, [c] *Esquire, Lieut. Col. Comd—Camp at post Vincennes August 7th 1787.*

COMPANIES.	Officers.											Privates.	Total including non-commissioned and privates.	Wanting to Complete.			
	Field.	Commissioned.			Staff.				Non Commissioned.								
	Lt. Col. Comd.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.	Adjutant.	Pay Master.	Surgeon.	S. Mates.	Serjeants.	Corporals.	Music.			Serjeants.	Corporals.	Music.	Privates.
At Post Vincennes { Field & Staff	1	..	..	..	1	1	1	1	..	..	..	...	...	..	..	..	..
At Post Vincennes { Capt Finneys [d]	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	4	2	2	52	60	..	2	..	8
At Post Vincennes { Capt Zeiglers [e]	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	3	4	2	54	63	1	..	..	6
At fort Harmar [a] return dated 25th June 87— Capt McCurdys [f]	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	3	2	2	42	49	1	2	..	18
At McIntosh & post Vincennes, Capt Fergusons [g]	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	3	3	2	42	50	..	..	..	...
Total	1	4	4	3	1	1	1	1	13	11	8	190	222	2	4	..	32
Wanting to Complete	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	4	..	32	38				
Establishment	1	4	4	3	..	..	1	1	15	15	8	222	260				

Promotions & Appointments which Col. Harmar wishes to be made in the pennsylvania quota, provided it meet the approbation of the honorable the Council viz

Lieut Jos. Ashton [h] to be Captain vice Captain Finney resigned
Ensign Denny [i] or Ensign Spear [j] to be Lieut. vice Ashton promoted.
(It will be decided by the War Office which of these 2 Gentlemen will take rank of each other)
Wm Robt Thompson to fill the Ensigns vacancy.

Jos. Harmar *Lt. Col. Comd* [b]

NOTES.

[*a*] Fort Harmar was erected on the right bank of the Muskingum River at its junction with the Ohio by a detachment of United States troops under the command of Major John Doughty, in the autumn of 1785, but was not completed until the following year. The position was judiciously chosen, as it commanded not only the mouth of the Muskingum, but swept the waters of the Ohio from a curve in the river for a considerable distance both above and below the fort.

It was the first military post built within the limits of the present State of Ohio, excepting Fort Laurens, which was built in 1778. The fort stood on what is called the "second bottom," being elevated above the ordinary floods of the Ohio, while between it and the banks of the river was a lower or first bottom, depressed about six feet, on to which the descent was by a gradual slope. This regular natural glacis was continued for a quarter of a mile up the Muskingum, and for a considerable distance below on the Ohio. The outlines of the fort formed a regular pentagon, and the area embraced within its walls contained about three-fourths of an acre. The curtains or main walls of the fort were constructed of large timber, placed horizontally to the height of twelve or fourteen feet, and were one hundred and twenty feet in length, as was recently ascertained (1847) by measurement, as the outlines of two of the bastions can be still readily traced in the earth. The bastions were constructed of large timber set upright in the ground, fourteen feet in height, fastened together by strips of timber treenailed into each picket. The outlines of these were also pentagonal, the fifth side, or that opening into the area of the fort, being occupied by block-houses, used as quarters for the officers.

The barracks for the soldiers were built along the side of the sides of the curtains, with their roofs sloping inward. They were divided into four rooms of thirty feet each, with convenient fireplaces, and afforded ample space for a regi-

ment of men. The officers' houses were made of hewed logs, two stories high, two rooms on a floor. The large house in the southeast bastion was used for a storehouse. From the roof of the barracks, which stood in the curtain, facing the Ohio, there arose a square tower like a cupola, surmounted by a flag-staff, in which was stationed a sentinel. The room beneath was the guard-house. An arsenal, built of timber and covered with earth, stood in the area of the fort near the guard-house, and answered as a magazine or bomb-proof for the powder. The main gate was next the river, with a sally-port on the side towards the hills, which rise abruptly from the level grounds at the distance of a quarter of a mile.

Near the centre of the fort was a well for the supply of the garrison in case of a siege, although for ordinary purposes water was brought from the river.

In the rear and to the left of the fort, on the ground which had supplied the materials for building, Major Doughty had laid out fine gardens. These were cultivated by the soldiers.

To the bravery and pride of a soldier the Major also possessed a refined taste for horticulture. Peaches were planted as soon as the ground was cleared, and in the second or third year produced fruit. A variety of his originating is still cultivated in Marietta, and known as the "Doughty peach."

The fort continued to be occupied by troops of the United States until September, 1790, when they were ordered down the river to Fort Washington, now Cincinnati.

There were no regular batteries built within the fort for the mounting of cannon. One or two six-pound field-pieces were mounted on carriages and kept on the bank of the river near the walls. With these they could command the boats on the river.—*Extract* (*Pioneer History of the Ohio Valley, S. P. Hildreth*).

[*b*] General Harmar arrived at Fort Harmar July 23, 1786, and assumed command, relieving Major John Doughty.

[*c*] JOSIAH HARMAR.

Captain First Pennsylvania Battalion[1] (Infantry), Oct. 27, 1775.

Major Third Pennsylvania Infantry, Continental Line, Oct. 1, 1776.

Lieutenant-Colonel Sixth Pennsylvania Infantry,[2] Continental Line, June 6, 1777.

Lieutenant-Colonel Seventh Pennsylvania Infantry, Continental Line, Aug. —, 1780.

Lieutenant-Colonel Third Pennsylvania Infantry, Continental line, Jan. 17, 1781.

Lieutenant-Colonel First Infantry, Continental Line, Jan. 1, 1783.

Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant First Regiment of U. S. Infantry,[3] Aug. 12, 1784.

Commanding U. S. Army, Aug. 12, 1784.

General-in-Chief U. S. Army,[4] July 31, 1787.

Brevet Brigadier-General[5] U. S. Army, July 31, 1787.

[1] This Battalion became the nucleus of the Second Pennsylvania Infantry of the Continental Line, Oct. 25, 1776.

[2] Raised agreeable to a resolution of Congress, Dec. 9, 1775, and called the Fifth until July —, 1776, when it became the Sixth, consequent upon the Pennsylvania "Rifle Regiment" being taken into the Continental service (retaining the rank of its officers from the time it was raised), and designated as the "First Pennsylvania Infantry, Continental Line."

[3] Organized by resolution of Congress, June 3, 1784.

Organized by act of Congress approved April 30, 1790.

Now Third Regiment Infantry, U. S. Army, organized by act of Congress approved May 30, 1796. Reorganized by consolidation of the First, Fifth, Seventeenth, Nineteenth, Twenty-eighth, and Twenty-ninth Regiments Infantry, approved by act of Congress, March 3, 1815, and again by consolidation of the Third and one-half of the Thirty-seventh Regiments Infantry, by act of Congress approved March 3, 1869.

[4] As recognized and adopted by the First Congress under the Constitution, Sept. 29, 1789.

[5] "*Resolved*, That the Secretary of War transmit to Lieutenant-Colonel Harmar a brevet commission of Brigadier-General, and that he be allowed the emoluments but not the pay of said rank, the allowance to commence with and continue during his command on the frontier."—*Journal of Congress*, July 31, 1787.

Resigned as Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant First Regiment of Infantry, U. S. Army, Jan. 1, 1792.

Adjutant-General of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, April 11, 1793, to Feb. 27, 1799.

Died Aug. 20, 1813, at Philadelphia, Pa.

[*d*] WALTER FINNEY.

Lieutenant-Colonel Samuel J. Atlee's Musketry Battalion (merged into the Pennsylvania State Regiment of Foot), March 20, 1776.

Prisoner of war at the battle of Long Island, Aug. 27, 1776.

Captain Sixth Pennsylvania Infantry, Continental Line, Aug. 10, 1776.

Brevet Major Aug. 20, 1776.

Captain Third Pennsylvania Infantry, Continental Line, Jan. 1, 1783.

Captain First Regiment of U. S. Infantry, Aug. 12, 1784.

Justice of the Peace, Chester County, Pa., June 16, 1789, to Aug. 17, 1791.

Associate Judge of Chester County, Pa., Aug. 17, 1791, to Sept. 17, 1820.

Born —— ——, 1748, in New London township, Chester County, Pa.

Died Sept. 17, 1820, in Chester County, Pa.

[*e*] DAVID ZEIGLER.

Third Lieutenant Captain James Ross's Company of Riflemen, recruited in Lancaster County, Pa., June —, 1775.

First Lieutenant and Adjutant Colonel William Thompson's Battalion of Riflemen,[1] June 25, 1775.

Ensign First Pennsylvania Battalion, Oct. 12, 1775.

[1] Organized June and July, 1775, in pursuance of a resolve of Congress, June 14, 1775, for the raising of six companies of expert riflemen in Pennsylvania, two in Maryland, and two in Virginia.

By a resolve of June 22, 1775, two additional companies were organized in Pennsylvania. The term of enlistment was for one year.

This Battalion became the Second Regiment, and, after Jan. 1, 1776, the "First Regiment of the Army of the United Colonies."

Second Lieutenant First Pennsylvania Battalion, Jan. 15, 1776.

Captain First Pennsylvania Infantry, Continental Line, Dec. 8, 1778.

Captain First Regiment of U. S. Infantry, June 3, 1784.

Captain First Regiment of Infantry, U. S. Army, Aug. 12, 1784.

Captain First Infantry, U. S. Army, Sept. 29, 1789.

Major First Infantry Regiment, U. S. Army, Oct. 22, 1790.

Resigned March 5, 1792.

Died at Cincinnati, Ohio, Sept. 24, 1811, aged sixty-three.

[*f*] WILLIAM MCCURDY.

Lieutenant New Eleventh[1] Pennsylvania Infantry, Continental Line, Nov. 12, 1777.

Captain-Lieutenant First Pennsylvania Infantry, Continental Line, ——.

Captain First Pennsylvania Infantry, Continental Line, May 18, 1781.

Captain First Regiment of U. S. Infantry, June 3, 1784.

Captain First Regiment of Infantry, U. S. Army, Aug. 12, 1784.

Captain First Infantry, U. S. Army, Sept. 29, 1789.

Resigned and honorably discharged June 4, 1791.

[*g*] WILLIAM FERGUSON.

Bombardier First Company Pennsylvania Artillery, Continental Line, Oct. 30, 1775.

Captain-Lieutenant Fourth Regiment of Artillery,[2] Continental Line, March 14, 1777.

Captured at Bound Brook, April 13, 1777.

[1] In consequence of the severe losses of the "Old Eleventh" at Brandywine, the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania by resolution incorporated it with the Tenth Pennsylvania Infantry, Continental Line. The New Eleventh, Jan. 13, 1779.

[2] Raised for the defence of the State of Pennsylvania, and designated the "Pennsylvania State Regiment of Artillery." Participated in the battles of "Bound Brook," "Brandywine," "Germantown," "Monmouth," and "Sullivan's Campaign, 1779."

Exchanged Dec. 1, 1780.

Captain Fourth Regiment of Artillery, Continental Line, to date April 14, 1778.

Captain U. S. Battalion of Artillery,[1] Oct. 20, 1786.

Captain U. S. Battalion of Artillery, Sept. 29, 1789.

Major-Commandant U. S. Battalion of Artillery, March 4, 1791.

Killed in the battle of Maumee (St. Clair's defeat), Nov. 4, 1791.

[*h*] JOSEPH ASHTON.

First Sergeant Captain John Lamb's New York Independent Company, Continental Artillery, July 16, 1775.

Prisoner of war, taken in the assault upon Quebec, Dec. 31, 1775.

First Lieutenant Second Regiment Artillery, Continental Line, Jan. 1, 1777.

First Lieutenant and Adjutant Second Pennsylvania Regiment of Artillery, Continental Line, June 21, 1777, to June 16, 1781.

Captain-Lieutenant Fourth Regiment of Artillery, Continental Line, April 19, 1781.

Lieutenant Corps of Artillery, U. S. Army, Aug. 12, 1784.

Captain First Regiment Infantry,[2] U. S. Army, Sept. 29, 1789.

Major Second U. S. Infantry,[3] Dec. 29, 1791.

Resigned and honorably discharged, Nov. 27, 1792.

[*i*] EBENEZER DENNY.

Ensign Seventh Pennsylvania Infantry, Continental Line, Aug. —, 1780.

[1] Organized as a battalion of artillery by resolution of Congress, Oct. 20, 1786.

[2] Organized under the resolution of Congress, Oct. 3, 1787.

The act of Sept. 29, 1789, recognized the regiment as part of the establishment of troops in the service of the United States (regular army), and all the officers were commissioned as of Sept. 29, 1789.

By act of March 3, 1791, the regiment became the First U. S. Infantry.

[3] The Second Infantry became the Second Sub-Legion, Sept. 4, 1792.

Transferred to First Pennsylvania Infantry, Continental Line, ——.

Lieutenant Third Pennsylvania Infantry, Continental Line, May 23, 1781.

Transferred to Fourth Pennsylvania Infantry, Continental Line, ——.

Ensign First Regiment of U. S. Infantry, Aug. 12, 1784.

First Lieutenant and Adjutant First Regiment of Infantry, U. S. Army, Sept. 8, 1785.

Captain First Regiment of Infantry, U. S. Army, Dec. 29, 1791.

Resigned and honorably discharged, May 15, 1792.

Died at Pittsburg, Pa., July 22, 1822.

[*j*] EDWARD SPEAR.

Second Lieutenant Sixth Pennsylvania Infantry, Continental Line, Feb. 7, 1778.

First Lieutenant Sixth Pennsylvania Infantry, Continental Line, May 16, 1781.

Transferred to First Pennsylvania Infantry, Continental Line, Jan. 1, 1783.

Lieutenant Battalion of U. S. Artillery, Sept. 10, 1787.

Killed in the battle of Maumee, Nov. 4, 1791.

THE PRINCIPIO COMPANY.

A Historical Sketch of the First Iron-Works in Maryland.

BY WILLIAM G. WHITELY, WILMINGTON, DEL.

(Continued from page 68.)

Ore for the furnace was at first obtained in the immediate neighborhood of the works, but ere long they were compelled to bring it from deposits more extensive. Though lying at a greater distance, chief of these were those banks of *bole armoniack* described by Captain Smith, on the banks of the Patapsco River, below the present city of Baltimore. The following is one of the original contracts:

"Then Bargain'd and sould unto Edmund Perks of Cecill County all my right and title of & to any stone Comonly called ironstone now lying and being at the poynt Called Gorsuch's Poynt[1] at the mouth of the North West Branch in Patapsco river Maryland, not no ways going above Highwater mark of the aforesaid poynt, for which I have rec'd in part in goods and money one pistole, and at the rec't of two pistoles more do oblige myself & my Heirs to make a good title according to law to Edmund Perks, his Heirs or assigns, givin under my hand and seal this fourth day of September, 1724.

"(Signed) JOHN GORSUCH."

Assigned on the back by Perks to Mr. John England and Co. of the iron-works at Principio, Sept. 10, 1724, for the same sum of three pistoles.

In 1727 they effected a lease of Whetstone Point, lying between the branches of the Patapsco River, and at whose extremity Fort McHenry now stands. One of the earlier

[1] Gorsuch's Point was below Canton, on the east side of the Patapsco River, about opposite Fort McHenry or Whetstone Point.

settlers, Charles Gorsuch, said to be a member of the Society of Friends, had patented, in 1662, fifty acres of land, comprising what was afterwards known as Whetstone Point. Gorsuch vacated a part of the land, and a patent was granted for it under the same name, in 1702, to Mr. James Carroll. Four years later it was made a town, but was never settled upon, and in 1725 Carroll sold it to John Giles for £5 sterling. In 1727, the Principio Company, through John England, purchased of Giles all the iron ore "opened and discovered or shut and not yet discovered" for the sum of £300 sterling money of Great Britain and £20 current money of Maryland. It was for many years one of their principal sources of ore.

During the Revolution, Whetstone Point was fortified with eighteen guns. The *Maryland Gazette* of September 9, 1777, places great confidence in its fortifications as a protection for Baltimore. Noting the appearance of a British fleet off the Patapsco, and fearing an attempt might be meditated against the town, it says, "In that case it is with pleasure we can assure our readers we are well prepared to give them (the British) a warm reception. The fort, batteries and boom at Whetstone Point are in excellent order; an air-furnace is erected on the point from which red thunder-bolts of war will issue to meet our invading foes"; but the fleet sailed quietly past and landed Lord Howe and his army on Elk River, whence they marched northward and encountered Washington at Brandywine.

In a country which was still a forest charcoal cost very little. Wood-cutters were paid 2*s.* 9*d.* per cord for cutting, colliers received 6*s.* and 7*s.* per load for coaling, while the wood-leave, or value of the wood on the stump, was reckoned at about a shilling a cord. Colliers were bound by written articles of agreement to deliver a certain number of loads of coal, "each load to measure eleven seams, each seam twelve bushels half heaped half struck, and to deliver nine loads of coal for every load of brays, the coals to be well dressed and good yield" (1730).

We take the following from the Ledger of Principio fur-

nace for 1727, as it may be interesting to those familiar with the present cost of making pig-iron.

Account of Piggs at Furnace Aug. 1727.

Iron ore 90 tons @ 15*s.*	£67.	10*s.*	0*d.*
Charcoal 90 loads (say 11880 Bus) @ 18*s.* .	81.	0.	0.
Oyster shells & limestone (quantity not given) .	5.	0.	0.
Wages, Jno. Barker founder, 40 tons @ 2/6 .	5.	0.	0.
other labor 40 tons @ 5/6	11.	0.	0.
Disbursements	2.	0.	0.
Total production, 40 tons pig iron . .	£171.	10*s.*	0*d.*

equivalent to £4. 5*s.* 9*d.* per ton.

This pig sold at the furnace for £10 per ton.

Blooms were valued at £25 and bar-iron at an average price of £35 per ton, but the books fail to show an accurate statement of actual cost of either. Forgemen received £1 per ton for making blooms, or *knobbling.* Slave labor was sometimes applied to this branch of the work, but whereas a white foreman received 20*s.* per ton, the poor slave was paid a single shilling for the same work as a bonus.

In 1754, twenty-seven years later, prices had fallen considerably. Bar-iron then cost £21 10*s.*, and was worth from £28 to £30; blooms were £18 and pig-iron £8 per ton. The following statement is made up from the Ledger of North East Forge for 1754:

Cost of 2240 lbs. *of Bar Iron.*

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Pig iron 3200lbs. @ £8.	11.	8.	7.
Charcoal 480 bus @ 9*s.* per load of 144 Bus. .	1.	10.	0.
Forgeman's wages white 20*s.* slave 1*s.* } average . .		8.	8.
Hammerman's wages	1.	0.	0.
Provision acc't (for slaves)	2.	17.	0.
General Charges, (manager & clerk freight on Pig, traveling expenses, clothing etc etc. . .	4.	5.	9.
Total Cost	21.	10.	0.

Principio and North East Works continued in full blast up to the Revolution, and here, for the present, we shall leave them to note the operations of the Company in other places.

They were early in treaty with Captain Augustine Wash-

ington for land in Virginia whereon to erect a furnace; but, owing to a difficulty in getting the necessary papers signed by the properly authorized persons, no formal agreement seems to have been made until after the furnace had been built and had shown its capabilities for successful work. In October, 1727, Mr. Charles Brockden was paid £4 for drawing the lease, and John Copson claimed £1 10*s.* "for obtaining Peter Grub's affirmation as witness to Captain Washington's Case to the Company." As early as February, 1725, however, the furnace was ready for work, and John Barker, founder at Principio, was sent there to start it. The new works were named *Accokeek*, and were located, according to Colonel Byrd, in King George County, fourteen miles from Fredericksburg, probably near the present village of Accokeek, though this we have not been able to verify.

G. W. P. Custis, in his "Recollections," relates that Augustine Washington, "becoming engaged in the agency of the Principio iron-works, and after the Conflagration of his seat in Westmoreland, removed with his family to a situation near Fredericksburg, on the Rappahannock river." His agency was more like a contract, and consisted in raising the ore and carting it two miles from the mines to the furnace for 20*s.* per ton of pig-iron. The furnace was built on a run which discharged its waters into the Potomac, and the iron, after being cast, had to be carted six miles to a landing on the river, three hundred weight being a load for a cart drawn by eight oxen.

The following extract from a letter of John England, at Principio, dated 5 January, 1725, to the Company in England, may be interesting in connection with the early history of Accokeek:

. . . "As to ye deviding ye shares of ye new founded works in Virginia, have advised with a Counselor about it . . . who tells me yt except some persons here is appointed yr lawfull aturney, by a power of atturney from you to signe for you here, yt if your deed or deeds come over for you to signe in England and either of you should dy before, or alter

your minds yt you dont sign, than it setts Washington at liberty and all ye work, is at an end. . . . But think a twelfth too small for myselfe in this concerne, which is likely to answer so well, as I doubt not but it will if rightly managed, so expect Joshua Gee and —— Russell will make me a little nearer equall to them. I think it two hard upon myselfe for I will assure you that was it not for something further than my salerey (was I to do nothing) I would not stay in ye country for it, but shall have very great feteague by ye works lying so far remote from each other. If you see fitt to make Capt Washington a small present of wine (along ye Virginia Cargo) and to signifie to him yt what I have done with him on yr behalfe you like and approve on, or to that effect, yt I leave to your Consideration either to do it or not."

We do not know whether the wine was ever forwarded; but England's action was undoubtedly approved, and Accokeek became, as he predicted, a valuable property. In 1750 it sent to the Company in England four hundred and ten tons of pig-iron,—about one-fifth the entire quantity exported from Maryland and Virginia for the year.

Augustine Washington, at his death, in 1743, left the estate afterwards known as Mount Vernon, and his share (one-twelfth) in the Principio Company, to his son Lawrence, and elder half-brother of George Washington. Between the two brothers existed the tenderest affection; but Lawrence was consumptive, and, after a voyage to the Bermudas, in 1751, in the vain pursuit of health (on which journey he was accompanied by George), he died the following year, leaving his estate first to his daughter, who did not long survive him, and after her death to his favorite younger brother George, with a life-estate in it to his widow. In the Journal of Accokeek Works, under date of June 14, 1755, Colonel Augustine Washington is charged "to acc't of insolvents for his part of old debts lost, £34 10*s*." Furthermore, at a Council of Virginia, held November 5, 1757, "On the application of Augustine Washington, gent. in behalf of *himself and other adventurers in iron works*, praying leave to import from Maryland bar and pig iron of that province

without being obliged to pay the Port duties and other fees chargeable on vessels importing goods and merchandise," the said fees were remitted. It is plain, therefore, that Augustine Washington was a stockholder, whether his share was derived from his brother George or not. He retained it until the Revolution, and we surmise that on the dissolution of the Company he received the Accokeek lands as his portion in the distribution of the property.

About the time of Lawrence Washington's ill-health and subsequent death the supply of ore at Accokeek failed, and the furnace was necessarily abandoned. In 1753 the movable effects were distributed among the other works, slaves and store-goods, horses, cattle, and wagons were sold, and the business in Virginia, as far as related to iron-making, was gradually closed up, some of the real estate being sold in 1767.

Kingsbury furnace was the Company's next venture. Major Thomas Sheridine had taken up land in Baltimore County as early as 1721, and from him, in 1734, they purchased nearly fourteen hundred acres of what were afterwards known as the Kingsbury lands, as well as all the ore and ironstone to be found on the remaining property of Sheridine, for which they paid him £800. The usual writ of *ad quod damnum* was not issued till 1746, nor was the patent granted until 1750, but the furnace was built in 1744, and went into blast in April, 1745, producing at the first blast, which lasted until December of the same year, four hundred and eighty tons of pig-iron. The patent for the land was issued to Sir Nicholas Carew, Bart., Osgood Gee, and others for one hundred acres of land at the head of Back River and on Herring Run, in Baltimore County. On this site, after the furnace had been abandoned, General Smith, a celebrated Revolutionary commander of the old Maryland line, built a mill. Whatever may have been the inducements which led the Company to locate a furnace upon this spot,—one of which, perhaps, was the closer proximity to the ore-beds of Whetstone Point,—it seems to have met their expectations. We give below the yield of the first four blasts.

	Begun.	Blown out.	Duration.	Product.
First blast . .	April 1, 1745	Dec. 18, 1745	9 months	480 tons
Second " . .	Aug. 16, 1746	Dec. 8, 1747	16 "	1108 "
Third " . .	Sept. 8, 1748	Oct. 6, 1749	13 "	1053 "
Fourth " . .	Oct. 5, 1750	Dec. 26, 1751	14 "	1212 "
			52 "	3853 "

An average of seventy-five tons per month. More than three thousand three hundred tons of the above were shipped to the Company in England.

The Principio Company (owing to England passing a law permitting pig-iron to be exported from the colonies to London free of duty) added to its possessions the Lancashire furnace by purchase from Dr. Charles Carroll, of Annapolis. It was located near Kingsbury, and probably on the Patapsco River, though the precise spot has not yet been discovered. Dr. Carroll took out his writ of condemnation in 1744, and sold out to the Company September 4, 1751, the deed embracing eight thousand two hundred acres of land (by estimation) lying on the drafts of Back and Middle rivers and White Marsh Run, in Baltimore County, together with all the messuages, furnaces, forges, barns, etc., for the consideration of £2675, and was signed on behalf of the company by Lawrence Washington.

The records of Lancashire which have come down to us are more meagre than those of other furnaces, but we know that it was worked with varying success from the time of its purchase until the Revolution. To recapitulate: We have shown how this Company, from its first venture in iron-making at Principio, had boldly extended its operations in other quarters and as steadily prospered, until now (1751) it outranked all competitors and was sole proprietor of four furnaces and two forges: Principio Furnace and Forge, Cecil County, Md., built prior to 1720; North East Forge, Cecil County, Md., built about 1720; Accokeek Furnace, Virginia, built about 1725; Kingsbury Furnace, Baltimore County, Md., built about 1744; Lancashire Furnace, Baltimore County, Md., purchased 1751.

They owned slaves and live-stock in abundance, their

tracts of land—chiefly woodland, for coaling—were of vast extent, amounting in the aggregate to nearly thirty thousand acres in Maryland alone, exclusive of the Accokeek lands in Virginia, and one-half of the pig-iron exported to Great Britain from this country came from their works.

Thomas Russell, the elder, has been previously mentioned as a co-worker with Onion in establishing Principio and North East Works. Returning to England in 1724, at his death he bequeathed his interests in the iron-works to his sons William and Thomas Russell. The latter was destined to figure conspicuously in the affairs of the Company in America. Born in Birmingham in 1741, he received a thorough commercial education in the office of a Mr. Barker, at Congreve, to whom he had been articled at the age of twenty-three. He was selected by his partners as a fit person to send to America as a managing director, and was to receive as compensation for his services £100 per annum, with the understanding that he was to remain not less than two years. Having accepted the position, he sailed for Maryland in the spring of 1764. The chief reason his partners had for desiring him to come to this country was the necessity which had arisen during the twelve years intervening since 1751 for some one person to take absolute control of their affairs, who could exercise a general oversight, and, having interests identical with their own, could be trusted with full authority on their behalf to inquire into, and, if necessary, correct, existing abuses. The distance of the works from each other had necessitated a separate and distinct management for each, and there were occasional clashings of authority. The irregularity and uncertainty of communication between the works and the main office in London helped to place great power in the hands of these managers, while no adequate check upon their transactions could be devised. Their judgment decided the beginning and duration of blasts. Supplies of ore, coal, and lime depended upon their energy; sales were effected, purchases made, and bills of exchange drawn by them at will, and numerous opportunities for fraud were presented which, we

fear, were sometimes embraced. William Baxter, manager at North East, had especially incurred the resentment of the Company, and their dissatisfaction had been brought by his misdeeds to a height which culminated in the resolve to make a clean sweep of all their former representatives and send over Thomas Russell, with full power to reorganize the business.

(To be continued.)

LETTERS OF SILAS DEANE.

ORIGINALS IN THE AUTOGRAPH COLLECTION OF FERDINAND J. DREER.

PARIS Novr 28, 1776.

GENTLEMEN,

Your favor of the 7 of August last covering Copy of yours of ye 8 July I rec'd tho the Original never came to hand—This Letter also enclosed the Declaration of Independency with Instructions to make it known to this, & the other powers of Europe, and I received it the 17. Instant, tho the Vessel which bro't it, had but 38 days passage from Salem. This Letter was very farr from relieving me, as it inclosed what had been Circulated thro' Europe for two months before, and my pretending to inform this Court, could be only a matter of form in Consiquence of your Orders, which were expressed, in the State of any Common affair—I certainly prefer and must on all Occations, simplicity of Stile as well as Manners, but something is due, to the dignity of old and powerfull States, or if you please to their prejudices, in favor of long Accustomed Form, & —— and as the United States of America, by this introduce themselves among the Established powers, and rank with them it must of Course be expected that at the first introduction, or the announcing of it some mode more formall, or if I may say respectfull would have been made use of than simply two or three Lines from the Committee of Congress in a Letter something more apparently Authentic not that either your power or the reality of your Letter could be doubted—I mention this as something deserving of serious Consideration, whither in your Applications here, & your powers & Instructions of a public Nature it is not alway proper to use a seal. This is a very antient Custom, in all public & even private concerns of any Consequence—further to keep a proper intercourse with Europe, it is by no means sufficient, to write a single Letter & leave it, to be

forwarded, when the Captain of a Vessel, thinks of it, or has nothing else to do, duplicates of every Letter in the hand of faithfull & attentive persons to be forwarded by the first Conveyance to any part of Europe, had this been practised since my leaving America instead of receiving but two short Letters from you I might have had Intelligence every month, let me urge you from the Danger our Affairs have been in, of totally miscarrying for want of intelligence to pay some Attention to this in future—As the Copy was dated 8 July I took Occation to observe that the honorable Congress, had taken the earliest Opportunity of informing this Court, of the declaration of their Independency and that the variety of important affairs before the Congress with the Critical situation of the Armies, in their Neighborhood, & the Obstructions of their Commerce had prevented that Intelligence which had been wished for, but the present served to shew the early & principal Attention, of the United States to this Court, and as their independency was now in form declared, the Queries I had formerly put, in Consequence of my first Instructions, might now be resolved, and I hoped favorably—To this I was answered, unless France, by a public Acknowledgement of your independency, makes war on G. Britain in your favor what service can such Acknowledgement be of to the United States? You are known here. Our Ports are open, & free for your Commerce, and your Ships are protected in them, and greater indulgencies allowed than to any other Nation If France should be obliged to make War on England it will be much more just, and honorable, in the Eyes of the World to make it on some other Account, & if made at all, it is the same thing to the United States of America, & in one important View better for them to have it Originate from any other Cause, as America, will be under the less immediate Obligation—further France has Alliances, and cannot resolve a Question, which must perhaps involve her in a War, without previously Consulting them, meantime the United States can receive the same succours, & Assistance from France, without as well as with, such an open Acknowledgement per-

haps much more advantagiously. To this & such like arguments I had the less to reply, as you informed me, that Articles for a proposed Alliance with France were under Consideration and that I might soon expect them—I was further told that the Swiss Canton tho in every respect free, & indepindent States, for several Centuries had not to this hour been Acknowledged as such by any public Act of any one power in Europe except France—and that neither the revolution in the United Provinces, or Portugal had been Attended with any such Acknowledgement, Tho' the powers of Europe, in both Cases lent their aid—I replied, that I would not urge a formal Acknowledgement, so long as the same End, could be obtained, & without the inconveniences hinted at, besides as I day expected further Instructions would, reserve myself until their arrival,—The apprehension of the united States Negotiating has done us much damage and the intirview at New York said to have been between a Com. of Congress and the Two Beathers however politic the step in America, was made use of to our prejudice in Europe, at this Court in particular, as it has been for sometime assisted, by Lord Stormont & Others, That a Negotiation would take place, and as farr as this, is believed as farr Our Cause has suffered, & Our Friends staggered in their Resolutions—my Opinion is that the House of Bourbon in every Branch will be our Friends, it is their Interest to humble Great Britain—I am again haunted with Williamson who certainly has the Confidence of some well meaning people with you, & as certainly betrays it, for he is pimping into every Corner of France to see what is doing under the pretence of being a zealous American, & every month or six weeks slips back to London with his budget which he unloads at Lord North—I dare not have him attack'd as a Spy, as he would in such case be immediately defended by Lord Stormont & I might be troubled to prosecute, I can only therefore warn you, & all Americans against him—yesterday it was roundly affirmed at Versailles That a Letter was received in London from Philad^a in which it was said I had wrote advising The Con-

gress to Negotiate for that I could obtain no assistance from Europe—You can hardly conceive how dangerous even such reports are, & how prejudicial every step that looks like confirming them—The importance of America, in every point of View, appears more, & more Striking to all Europe, but particularly to this Kingdom—Inclosed I send you the size of Masts & Sparrs, with the price which if it will Answer, may be a certain Article of remittance, as may other Naval Stores, but I dare not Contract with the Marine, as I have no powers therefor & am unacquainted with the Rate they were usually exported at to England—a wide field is opening as the American Commerce is to be free, & I have had many applications from many parts of the subject, Tho' few are disposed to Venture untill the close of this Campaign, which if it is not decisive against us Our wants will be supplied another season at as cheap a rate as ever, but I trust never more on the old Terms of long credit—I am well nigh harrassed to Death with applications of officers to go out to America, Those I have engaged are I trust in general of the best Character, but that I should engage, or rather take from the hands of some Leading Men here, some one, or Two in a Number not so accomplished cannot be surprizing, & may considering my situation be pardonable but I have no suspicion of any such, in any department of Consequence—I have been offered Troops from Germany on the following general Terms, Officers to recruit as for the service of France, and embark for St. Domingo from Dunkirk, and by altering their rout, Land in the American States—The same has been proposed from Switzerland to which I could give no encoragement, but submit it to your Consideration in Congress, whither if you can establish a Credit as I have before hinted, it would not be well to purchase at Leghorn Five or Six Stout Frigates, wch might at once transport some companies of Swiss a Quantity of Stores and the whole be defended by the Swiss soldiers on their passage or if you prefer Germans which I really do not, the Vessels might go from Dunkirk. I daily expect important advises from the North, respecting

Commerce at least, having sent to the King of Prussia in consequence of a mem° he Ordered his Agent here to show me, & to propose some Queries to me, a state of the North American Commerce at large—I have presented Memorial after Memorial here untill in my last I think I have exhausted the subject so fair as the present Time, having in my last given the history of the Controversy, obviated the objections made against us & pointed out the Consequences that must ensue to France, & Spain if they permitted the Colonies to be subjucted by their old Hereditary Enemy, it consisted of Fifty pages and was after being translated presented to his Majesty & his Ministers & I was assured was favorably received & Considered, I presented it about Five Weeks since and whether it has hastened the preparations or not I cannot say—The Ministry was pleased to say that I had placed the whole in the most striking point of View, and they believed with great justice—I cou'd wish to send you Copies of these but I have no Assistant, except Occasionally, and the uncertainty of my situation will not permit my engaging for any thing certain to one who might deserve Confidence—and those who are deserving are but few—I wou'd advise in concerns in this and other Kingdoms to have very little concern with Natives of Great Britain—Never if to be avoided, but prefer Foreigners it is more safe, and more politic—I say Forigners but all are Forigners alike in one sence—I except Messrs Debass who are tho of Irish extract born in France and have their whole connections here—Bread will be scarse before the next harvest—Flour is now 22 to 23 Livers per C and Tobacco is as I before have mentioned and I promised myself you will not let slip so favorable an opportunity of making remittances to advantage—in expectation of your sending over Frigates to Convoy your Ships and of your giving some instructions on what I have wrote you of opperations in These Seas—I design being at Burdeaux in March, when I shall be able to give the Needfull directions in any such affair, but at any rate send over a Number of Blank Commissions for Privateers to be fitted out in Europe under your Flagg.

The prizes must finally be bro't to you for Condemnations and the principle advantage will remain with you—I have wrote largely, & on many subjects yet fear I have omitted something if so must when I write again must recollect—on lesser subjects. I wish I had here one of y^r best Sadle Horses of the American or Rhode Island breed, a present of that kind, wou'd be money well laid out with a certain personage—other curious American productions at this time wou'd tho' trifles in themselves, be of consequence rightly timed & placed—I mentioned Mr RittenHouses in a former Letter and I think Arnolds Collection of Insects &c, &c, but I submit any steps of this kind to your mature Judgment—Mons Du Coudey will be with you by the receipt of this with stores compleet for 30,000 men, The extraordinary exertions of this Gentleman and his Charecter intitle him to much from the United States, and I hope the sum I have stipulated with him for will not be considered as extravagant when you consider it is much less than is given in Europe, Baron DeKalb I consider as unimportant Acquisition as are many other of the Officers whose Characters I may not stay to particularize but refer you to Baron de *Kalb* who speaks English, and to *Mr. Rogers*, who are generally with them as to the Sea Officers, they are not so easily obtained, yet some good ones may be had, and in particular two one I have already mentioned—The other is quite his equal with some advantages he was 1st Leautenant of a Man of War round the World with Capt. Cook sailed that Voyage and has since had a ship, but wants to leave this for other service were he may make a settlement and establish a Family These two Officers would engage a Number of younger ones should they embark, I send herewith the plans of one of them for the burning of ships—I submit it to the Honorable Congress who are sensible of the variety and magnatude of the Objects before me whither it is not of importance to dispatch some one of its body to Assist me, or to take part in his own immediate direction I say some one of its body as it will give dignity & rather support it in a proper manner, when you send persons

known to possess your fullest Confidence and the Advice and Assistance of such a one in Europe would be of service to me though he were or I were occationally at Madrid, or Berlin, having attained some knowledge of the Language and an Acquaintance with those in power here as well as others, What abilities I have which are ever devoted to my Country, can be imploy'd here to the best Advantage at present, but I submit my thoughts to your determination and am with great Truth and Sincerity—

Your Most Obe^t^ &
Very Hum^bl^ Sev^t^
SILAS DEANE.

PHILADELPHIA Septem^r^ 14, 1778

DEAR SIR,

I have not had the Pleasure of a Line from you since you left us, which I impute to your having been so much engaged in public Business. I hope the articles sent you arrived safe and were found to satisfaction and that we shall soon have the Pleasure of seeing you again in Philadelphia by one means or another The Affairs which respect me have dragg'd on so heavily that Nothing decisive has been done though I have been constantly applying, and my Patience is really worn out, & I cannot & will not longer endure a Treatment, which carries with it marks of the deepest ingratitude, but if the Congress have not Time to hear a man, who they have sent for Four Thousand miles, solely under the pretence of receiving Intelligence from him, it is Time that the good people of this Continent should know the manner in which their Representatives conduct the public Business, and how they Treat their Fellow Citizens, who have rendered their Country, the most important services.—

I freely appeal to every man of honor, & feelings, and will be content to be judg'd from what passes in his own breast, on supposing himself but for one moment exactly in my Situation. A Majority of Congress are disposed to do me justice & complain of my being delayed in the manner I am from day to day, & from week to week but you know

that in Congress a few men can put off the decision of any Question by one means or other as long as they please, and you are not a Stranger to what a certain Triumvirate, who have been from the first members of Congress are equall. The baseness and ingratitude of one of them you have sufficiently experienced in private Life, to know him capable of any thing in public,—and my old Colleague Roger the Jesuit, with their Southern associate have been indefatigable ever since my Arrival, Roger indeed is at present on a Tour, to the Army, and thence to *Newhaven*, to stir up the pure minds of the Faithful there against The next Election of Delegates, he is expected back in a few Days, when perhaps they will be ready to take the Field after having suggested in Whispers ev'ry thing that could tend to hurt the man they causelessly attack—I am noway discouraged, but I am grieved to find our Councils, & our public deliberations conducted in the manner they are at present—The very name of Congress, was a great while sacred, almost as that of the Divinity in these States, you as well as I know how much weakness to say nothing more, lay concealed from the first behind the sacred Vail, from the view of the public—I tremble for the Consequences, when Americans who have served their Country with the highest reputation at home, and abroad, shall be forced by the Injuries and abuse which they receive, in vindication of themselves to draw this Vail, and hold up to the open View of their Countrymen certain individuals, who have by one circumstance or another greatly influenced the deliberations of Congress—Self Defence is the first Law of Nature—I hope, and am sure I shall not be driven to this extremity whilst so many appear resolv'd to see justice done me—I will not add, but that I most impatiently expect you here, and hope that you will bring Mrs Hancock with you, to whom I pray you present my most respectful Compliments —I am ever with the most sincere attachment

Dr Sir your most Obed^t and

Very hum^bl Servt

HON^bl J. HANCOCK. SILAS DEANE

OLD RECORDS OF THE FOULKE, SKIRM, TAYLOR, COALMAN, WOOLLEY, AND GASKILL FAMILIES.

[The Bible from which this record is taken, an old black-letter folio, was brought to this country in the year 1677, by Thomas Foulke, one of the Commissioners for the Province of West New Jersey,[1] who was born in Derbyshire[2] in 1624, and is now in the possession of one of his descendants, Mrs. Mary C. Gaskill, of Philadelphia. It is a reprint of the Cranmer edition of 1541, "Imprynted at London in Flete strete, at the signe of the Sunne, ouer agaynste the conduyte, by Edwarde Whitchurche. The XXIX. day of December the yeare of our Lorde, M.D. XLIX." During the last century it was rebound at the cost of twelve shillings and six pence, but unfortunately not until such a course was absolutely necessary, as the title-page of the Bible, the first two pages of Archbishop Cranmer's prologue, the last page of the contents, one page containing an exhortation, etc., the title-page of the second part, and the last four folios of the New Testament are all missing.[3]

This Bible is said to have been buried in the ground during the persecution of the adherents of the Reformed Church in the reign of Philip and Mary, and has numerous marginal notes showing the peculiarities of the sixteenth-century penmanship. Scattered through the Old Testament are the signatures of Richard Smallwood and Francis Berdesly, which evidently belong to the same period as the notes, and those of Thomas Foulke, Sarah Foulke, and Sarah Skirm, which can be assigned to a later date.]

Thomas Foulks[4] Senor Dyed June the 10th: 1714. Aged 90 years.

Mary Foulks[4] Dyed February the 16th: 1718. Aged 89 years.

Thomas Foulks[4] Son of Thomas Foulks Senor dyed August the 24th: 1739. Aged 75 years.

Elizabeth Foulks[4] Daughter of John & Anne Curtis dyed April 21st: 1731 aged 60 years & 2 months & 5 days.

[1] Smith's "History of New Jersey," p. 93.

[2] Besse's "Sufferings of the Quakers," Vol. I. pp. 138–40–41–42.

[3] Catalogue of Lea Wilson's Collection, pp. 31–33.

[4] Black-letter.

Writen[1] By Abraham Skirm February the 17th: 174¾. Aged 14½ years the Son of Richard & Elizabeth Skirm.

Mary Folkes the Daghter of Thomas and Elizabeth Folkes was Born the 25th: of the first Month 1690.

Ann Folkes the Daghter of the Above Thoˢ. And Eliz: Folkes was born the 12th: of the 12th: Month 1694.

Thomas Folkes the Son of the Above was Born the 1st: of yᵉ 8th: Month: 1697. Departed this Life on the 21st: of 10 M: 1777 Aged 80 y: 2 M: 20 D.

Elizabeth Folkes the daughter of the Above was born the 31st: of yᵉ 11th: Month 1700.

Sarah Folkes the Daughter of the Above was born the 25th: Day of the 2nd: Month 1702.

Isaiah Folkes the Son of the Above Thoˢ. And Elizᵇ: Folks was born the 23rd Day of the 5th: Month 1704.

Rebeckah Folkes the Daughtʳ. of the Above Said Was born the 3rd: of the 5th: Month 1706.

An Accompt of Mary Folkes who Married Joseph Mires An their Children.

An Accompt of Ann Folkes who Married Samuel Taylor and their Children which Are as Follows.

Mary Taylor	mary'd	Godfrey Beck
Samuel Taylor		
Thomas Taylor		
Elizabeth Taylor	"	Edward Rockhill
John Taylor[2]		
Anne Taylor	"	Jonathan Quicksall
Rebeckah Taylor	"	William Steward
Susannah Taylor	"	Soloman Rockhill
Sarah Taylor	"	Richard Brown
Acsha Taylor	"	John Follswell

An Account of Thomas Folkes Who Married Mary the Daughter of and Joseph Pancost.

[1] Black-letter.

[2] Opposite the name of John Taylor is written that of John Skirm, who may have been the second husband of either Elizabeth or Anne.

An Accompt of Elizabeth Folkes Who Married Richard Skirm [of Burlington Co., N. J.] the Son of Abram Skirm & their Children

Abraham Skirm the Son of the Above was Born ye 26th of 5th: Month About 7 of the Clock In the Afternoon 1729 one thousand Seven Hundred & Twenty Nine.

Mary Skirm wass Born ye 17th of 3rd Month In the Year of Our Lord one Thousand Seven hundred & Thirty One.

Isaac Skirm Wass Born ye 16th of the first Month 173¾.

Joseph Skirm Was Born the 20th Day of the Seventh Month In the Year of Our Lord one Thousand Seven hundred & thirty five 1735

Elizabeth Skirm Was Born ye 12th of the first Month 173⅛ Who Dyed———.

Elizabeth Skirm Was Born the 20th. of the 4th. Month 1741.

Richard Skirm Departed thiss Life the 6 Day of 6th. Month In Year 1746. Aged 64 years.

Elizabeth Skirm Departed thiss Life the 5th. of 2: 1765 aged 65 years.

An Accompt of Sarah Folkes Who Married Joseph Thorn the Son of———

There Children Viz^t:

Joseph Thorn
Elizabeth Thorn
John Thorn
Thomas Thorn
Michael Thorn

An Account of Rebeckah Folkes who Mar^d: Samuel Horsman the Son of———

Abram Skirm was married to Elizabeth Fowler the Daughter of John & Elizabeth Fowler on the 23rd Day of ye 3rd: Month In the year of our Lord 1750 Old Stile.

An Account of Abraham & Elizabeth Skirm's Children the Time of their Births.

Rebekah Skirm Daughter of the Above was Born on ye 15th. Day of 11 m: 1750

Anna Skirm was Born on the 9th Day 8 M: 1752.
Hannah Skirm was Born the 18th of 11 M. 1754.
Huldah Skirm was Born the 31st of 7 M. 1756.
John Skirm was Born the 10th of 7 M. 1758
Tacey Skirm was Born the 29th of 10 M. 1762
The Above Departed this Life the 4th of the 4 M. 1837.
Abraham Skirm was Born the 20 of 9 M. 1765. Departed this Life on 27th. 6 M. 1784.
Sarah Skirm was Born the 16th 2 M: 1768. Departed this Life the 18 of 9th. M. 1836
Mary Skirm was Born the 25th of 3 M. 1771
Joseph Skirm was Born the 30th. of 7 M. 1774.
Abraham Skirm Son of Richard and Elizabeth Skirm Departed this life the 24 day of 4 M. 1785 aged 56 years.
Elizabeth Fowler was born the 5 da of 9 M. 1731.

An Account of the Births of the Children of James and Anne [Skirm] Coalman.
Ruth Coalman was born on the 27 of the 3 Month 1774.
Huldah Coalman was born on the ——— of the ——— Month———
James Coalman was born on the 3 of the 5 Month 1777.
Elizabeth Coalman on 3rd. 3 Mo: 1780.
Anne Coalman was born 5th. 2 Mo: 1782
Nathaniel Coalman.
George Coalman was Born 10th of 3 Mo. 1786.
Nathaniel Coalman.

An Account of the Births of James Woolley & Huldah [Skirm] his Wifes Children.
Elizabeth Woolley was born on 30th: of the first Month 1778.
Hannah Woolley was Born on the first Day of 8 Month 1781. Dyd the 9th of 7 M. 1783.
Deborah Woolley was born on 30th: of 9 M. 1783. Dyd the 6 of 10 M. 1784.
Mary Woolley was born on 13th. of 4 Mo. 1785.

John Tucker Woolley was born ye 4 day of the 6 month 1787.
Ann Woolley
Huldah Woolley was born the 10th. of the 5 Month 1791.
Charlotte Woolley was born the 15 day of the tenth month 1793.
Edna Woolley was born the 31 day of 7 Mon. 1796.

Joseph Skirm & Elizabeth Anderson were married July 17th 1802. Elizabeth Anderson was born Feb. 24th 1776.

An Account of Joseph & Elizabeth Skirm's Children's Births.

Emlia Skirm was Born July 5th 1804 fifth of the week.
Abraham Skirm was Born February the 22 the Year 1806. Seventh of the week.
Charles C. Skirm was born October 22d 1808. Seventh of the week.
Malenia Skirm was born January 24, 1811. Fifth Day of the week.
Mary [Clark] Skirm was March the 20th 1814. First Day of the week.

Charles C. Skirm & Theodosia C. Lee. were married 22nd Nov. 1830.
Joseph Skirm was born 22nd of August 1832.
Mary Elizabeth Skirm was born 28th day of February 1838.
Alethia Skirm was born 15th day of June 1841.

[The late] Joseph W. Gaskill [of Philad'a] & Mary C. Skirm were married the 3rd of the 10th Month 1832.

An account of Joseph W. & Mary C. Gaskill's Childrens' Births.

Edward M. Gaskill was born the 22nd of the 10th. Month 1833. Departed this life the 5th of the 11th Month 1841.
Anna Virginia Gaskill was born the 16th of the 11th Month 1835.
Charles Merwin Gaskill was born the 14th of the 8th Month 1838.

Edwin A. Gaskill
William H. C. Gaskill
Frank Gaskill

An Accompt of Richard Skirm's Brothers & Sisters In England [the children of Abraham Skirm].

Mary Skirm.
Richard Skirm.
Anne Skirm.
Sarah Skirm.
Abraham Skirm.
Isaac Skirm.
Rebeckah Skirm.

THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION OF 1787.

SKETCHES OF THE MEMBERS OF THE PENNSYLVANIA CONVENTION.

BY WILLIAM HENRY EGLE, M.D.

(Continued from page 79.)

HANNUM, JOHN, of Chester County, was born in 1742, in Concord, that county. He was the son of John Hannum, Jr., and his wife, Jane Neild. Arriving at maturity, he settled on a large farm in East Bradford township. He was commissioned early in life one of the Provincial justices of the peace, and continued in commission by the Constitutional Convention of 1776. At the outset of the struggle with the mother-country he became an ardent Whig, and was appointed one of the Committee of Observation for the county of Chester the 20th of December, 1774. In 1777 he was chosen to the command of one of the Associated Battalions, and became an active participant in the Revolutionary contest. He was with Wayne at the Paoli. Subsequently he was captured at his own residence by a squad of British light-horse, led thither by a Tory neighbor, and taken to Philadelphia, then occupied by the enemy. He soon after escaped, and was more energetic than ever in the cause of his country. He was appointed one of the commissioners of purchases, June 27, 1780, one of the auditors of depreciation accounts, March 3, 1781, and on the 8th of November, the latter year, one of the agents for forfeited estates. He was chosen to the General Assembly in 1781, serving until 1785. While a member of this body, independence having been established, he was largely instrumental in securing the repeal of the "Test Law," then no longer necessary as a war measure. He was a delegate to

the Pennsylvania Convention to ratify the Federal Constitution in 1787, and signed the ratification. He was recommissioned one of the justices for the county in 1788, serving until his appointment by Governor Mifflin of register and recorder, December 13, 1793, which office he held until the 6th of December, 1798, when he was succeeded by his son, Richard Montgomery Hannum. He had previously served in the House of Representatives, 1792–93. For an interesting account of Colonel Hannum's services in the removal of the county-seat of Chester County from Chester to the "Turk's Head," see Smith's "History of Delaware County," p. 340, and Futhey and Cope's "History of Chester County," p. 116. Colonel Hannum died the 7th of February, 1799, and was interred at Bradford Meeting-house, Marshallton. He married, in 1767, Alice Parke, daughter of Jonathan Parke and his wife, Deborah Taylor, who died in 1830, at the age of eighty-six years. Their children were *John; Jane*, m. John Douglas; *Jonathan*, removed to Kentucky; *Mary*, m. William Kinnard; *Washington Lee*, went to Kentucky; *Richard Montgomery*, who succeeded his father in the register's office, and who afterwards followed his brothers to Kentucky; *James; Caleb;* and *Deborah*, m. Emmor Bradley.

Harris, John, of Cumberland County, was born in County Donegal, Ireland, in 1723. He was related to Harris of Harris's Ferry, to the family in Buffalo Valley, and has frequently been confounded by others of the same name. In 1753 he was located on the Swatara, Lancaster County, as his autograph to a road petition is a counterpart of that of twenty years later. He was one of the most prominent men in the Cumberland Valley. He was a delegate to the Pennsylvania Convention to ratify the Federal Constitution of 1787, and voted against the ratification. He died at Mifflintown, which he laid out, February 24, 1794. For a more extended sketch, see Penna. Mag., Vol. III. p. 438.

Hartley, Thomas, of York County, was born in Colebrookdale township, Berks County, Pennsylvania, on the 7th of September, 1748. His father, George Hartley, was an

early settler in Pennsylvania and a well-to-do farmer. The son received a good classical education at Reading, and at the age of eighteen began the study of law at York with Samuel Johnston, a distinguished lawyer and a relative on his mother's side. He was admitted to the bar of York County July 25, 1769, and to that of Philadelphia on the 10th of August following. He soon rose rapidly to legal distinction, and was in a successful career when the war of the Revolution opened. In 1774 he was vice-president of the Committee of Observation for York County, and again in November, 1775. He was chosen a deputy to the Provincial Conference held at Philadelphia, July 15, 1774, and a delegate to the Provincial Convention of January 23, 1775. In December, 1774, he was first lieutenant of Captain James Smith's company of Associators, and in December, 1775, chosen lieutenant-colonel of the First Battalion of York County. On the 10th of January, 1776, Congress elected him lieutenant-colonel of the Sixth Battalion of the Pennsylvania Line, and he served in the Canada campaign of that year. On the 27th of December, the same year, General Washington, by authority of the Congress, issued commissions and authority to raise two "additional regiments in Pennsylvania," the command of one being given to Colonel Hartley. He commanded the First Pennsylvania Brigade, Wayne's division, in the battles of Brandywine and Germantown. In 1778 he was in command of the troops on the West Branch, upon which the Indians and Tories from New York had made inroads. By a resolution of Congress of 16th December, 1778, the remains of Patton's and Hartley's regiments, with several detached companies, were organized into what was termed the "New Eleventh" Regiment of the Pennsylvania Line, to which he was transferred on the 13th of January, 1779, but resigned the month following, having been chosen to the General Assembly. In accepting his resignation Congress, deeming his reasons satisfactory, bore testimony of their "high sense of Colonel Hartley's merit and services." He served as a member of the Council of Censors, 1783–84, and as a

delegate to the Pennsylvania Convention to ratify the Federal Constitution in 1787. He was elected by the Constitutionalists on the general ticket for members of Congress in 1788, and continued in that high official position for a period of twelve years. He was one of the original members of the Society of the Cincinnati, and a trustee of Dickinson College at the beginning of its educational career. In 1799 he laid out the town of Hartleton in the Buffalo Valley, on a tract of one thousand acres purchased by him during the Revolution. Governor McKean commissioned him, April 28, 1800, a major-general in the Pennsylvania militia. General Hartley died at his residence in York, December 21, 1800, and his remains were interred in St. John's Protestant Episcopal church-yard, the Rev. John Campbell, D.D., preaching his funeral sermon, the Masonic brethren assisting in the services. His wife was Catharine Holtzinger, daughter of Bernhart Holtzinger. She died at York, October 2, 1798, leaving two children,—*Charles William* Hartley, for several years prothonotary of York County, and *Eleanor* Hartley, who married Dr. James Hall, afterwards Lazaretto physician at Philadelphia.

Hiester, Joseph, of Berks County, was born November 18, 1752, in Bern township, Berks County, Pennsylvania. He was the son of John Hiester, a native of Elsoff, in the province of Westphalia, Germany. The son acquired the rudiments of a good English and German education under the supervision of the pastor of Bern Church. Until near age he worked upon his father's farm, when he went to Reading and learned merchandising. He was a member of the Provincial Conference held at Carpenters' Hall, June 18, 1776, which called the convention of July following. The war of the Revolution breaking out, he raised a company of Associators for the Flying Camp, which participated in the battle of Long Island, where he was taken prisoner. After several months' imprisonment he was exchanged, and returned in time to take part in the battle of Germantown, where he was wounded. He was appointed by the Supreme Executive Council one of the commissioners of exchange,

April 5, 1779, and on the 21st of October following one of the committee to seize the personal effects of traitors. He was chosen to the General Assembly in 1780, and served almost continuously from that date until 1790. He was a delegate to the Pennsylvania Convention to ratify the Federal Constitution in 1787, but did not sign the ratification. He was a member of the State Constitutional Convention of 1789–90, and under that instrument was elected to the first Senate, serving a full term. He was chosen a Presidential elector in 1792, and again in 1796. He served in the Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, and Eighth Congresses, and again in the Fourteenth, Fifteenth, and Sixteenth Congresses. It was during his last term that he was elected Governor of Pennsylvania by the Federalists, in a campaign which for personal vituperation has never been equalled in Pennsylvania. His administration, however, of the affairs of State was a successful one, but he would not allow himself to be nominated for a second term. Returning to Reading, he retired to private life, and died there on the 10th of June, 1832. He was a man of commanding presence and of pleasing address. Governor Hiester married, in 1771, Elizabeth Witman, daughter of Adam Witman, a merchant of Reading. She died on the 11th of June, 1825, aged seventy-five years, and their children were *John S.; Catharine*, m. John Spayd; and *Rebecca*, m. Rev. Henry A. Muhlenberg.

Hoge, Jonathan, of Cumberland County, son of John Hoge and his wife, Gwenthleen Bowen Davis, was born July 23, 1725. His parents residing about that date in the Three Lower Counties of Penn's Province, it is certain he was born there, and not in Ireland, as set forth in the sketch of him in Penna. Mag., Vol. III. p. 442. He was a delegate to the Pennsylvania Convention to ratify the Federal Constitution, but opposed the ratification. He died April 19, 1800, at his residence in East Pennsboro' township, Cumberland County. His wife, Isabel, d. January 27, 1791, in the sixty-fourth year of her age.

Horsfield, Joseph, of Northampton County, was born at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, November 24, 1750. His father,

Timothy Horsfield, was an early Moravian settler, at Bethlehem, and quite prominent in the history of that settlement. But little is known of the son's early history save that he was a man of good education and of influence in the community. He was chosen a delegate to the Pennsylvania Convention to ratify the Federal Constitution in 1787, and signed the ratification. He was appointed by President Washington, June 12, 1792, the first postmaster at Bethlehem, an office he held until the 13th of February, 1802. He died at Bethlehem on the 9th of September, 1834, at the age of eighty-three years. Mr. Horsfield married, December 2, 1783, Elizabeth Benezet, and their children were *Sarah; Elizabeth*, m. Christian Jacob Wolle; *Maria*, m. John Jacob Kummer; and *Daniel.*

HUBLEY, JOHN, of Lancaster County, the son of Michael Hubley and Rosina Strumpf, was born in the town of Lancaster the 25th of December, 1747. (For a fuller notice of him, see PENNA. MAG., Vol. III. p. 442.) He was a member of the Convention of 1776, and also of that of 1789–90. He was a Constitutionalist, and signed the ratification of the Federal Constitution in the Pennsylvania Convention of 1787. He also served in the Supreme Executive Council in 1777, and was chosen a Presidential elector in 1801. A lawyer by profession, although by no means a brilliant one, yet there was a magnetism about him which, next to Judge Yeates, made him the most popular attorney at the Lancaster bar, always justly celebrated for its great legal minds. He died January 21, 1821, aged seventy-three years.

HUNN, JOHN, of the county of Philadelphia, was born in 1746, in Kent County, Delaware. His grandfather, Nathaniel Hunn, was an early settler on the Delaware. Of his children, John, the third son, married Tabitha ——, and had issue, John, Caleb, David, Susanna, and Elizabeth. John, the subject of our sketch, was brought up to a seafaring life, and was a captain in the merchant service at the breaking out of the War for Independence. He was an ardent patriot, and was intrusted with very important

duties. In July, 1776, he was in command of the privateer "Security"; while in the following summer, when it was momentarily expected that the British fleet would attempt to pass up the Delaware, at the request of General Washington he was sent by the Council of Pennsylvania to the capes to give the earliest possible notice of the appearance of the enemy's vessels. In the campaign in and around Philadelphia he seems to have been in active military service. In the subsequent events he was not an idle spectator, his energies being principally devoted to perfect plans to destroy the power of the enemy at sea. When the war closed he retired to private life, only coming to the front in times of great political excitement. As a Constitutionalist he was chosen to the Pennsylvania Convention in 1787, and signed the ratification. He took a prominent part at the meeting held in Philadelphia, June 22, 1795, in opposition to the Jay Treaty, and was appointed one of the committee to prepare a memorial to the President. Captain Hunn died at Wilmington, Delaware, April 22, 1810, while on a visit to his daughter, Mrs. Rodney. The following description of him is given by his grand-daughter: "He adhered to the old colonial style of dress, deep brown cloth coat with figured buff waistcoat, stock of fine cambric with tabs to buckle behind, ruffled shirt and short-clothes, buckled at the knee, white lamb-wool stockings, dried on boards cut to fit the shape, and shoe-buckles; a bright English rosy complexion, full deep brown eyes; frequented, as did all gentlemen, the Coffee-House on Second Street, and was often called in to settle disputed questions or rights, as honest Captain Hunn." Captain Hunn married, in 1776, Mary Sillsbee, daughter of Nathaniel Sillsbee and Judith Jacquet, a descendant of John Paul Jacquet, who came from Sweden in 1650, and was appointed by the Dutch commander on the South River. She died on the 20th of November, 1805, aged fifty-three years. Of their children who reached maturity, *Susan* m. Cæsar A. Rodney, of Delaware, and *Maria* m. Samuel Stockton Voorhees, of Philadelphia.

LATIMER, GEORGE, of the city of Philadelphia, was born

there in 1750. He was educated at the College of Philadelphia, and entered upon a mercantile life. In the Revolutionary war he was active and influential, and was in military service prior to the occupation of Philadelphia by the British in 1777. He was a delegate to the Pennsylvania Convention to ratify the Federal Constitution in 1787. He represented his native city in the Pennsylvania House of Representatives from 1792 to 1799, being Speaker of that body five years. He was a Presidential elector in 1792, and from 1798 to 1804 was collector of the customs by appointment of the President. In politics he was a Federalist. During the war of 1812–14 he was a member of the Committee of Defence for the city of Philadelphia and treasurer of that body. He was an enterprising citizen, being a director of the old Bank of North America from the 9th of January, 1792, until his death, and also president of the Union Insurance Company. He was appointed April 5, 1786, one of the five commissioners from Pennsylvania to confer with those from Maryland and Delaware on the navigation of the river Susquehanna. In 1814 he was an independent candidate for Governor of Pennsylvania, receiving nine hundred and ten votes in the canvass which elected Simon Snyder for the third term by a majority of twenty-two thousand in a poll of seventy thousand. Mr. Latimer died at Philadelphia on Sunday evening, 12th of June, 1825, in his seventy-fifth year. He left descendants.

Lincoln, Abraham, of Berks County, the son of Mordecai and Mary Lincoln, was born in 1736 in Amity township, Philadelphia, subsequently Berks County, Pennsylvania. His father, who died in May of that year, a few months before the birth of Abraham, was the ancestor of President Lincoln. The subject of our sketch was brought up on the paternal farm. He received a fair education, and became quite prominent in the affairs of his native county. Prior to the Revolution he served as county commissioner, continuing in office during the greater part of the struggle for independence. He was an active patriot, and was appointed one of the sub-lieutenants of the county March 21, 1777. He

served in the General Assembly from 1782 to 1786, and was a delegate to the Pennsylvania Convention to ratify the Federal Constitution in 1787. He did not sign the ratification. Under the act of the 14th of March, 1784, he was appointed one of the Commissioners of Fisheries. He was a member of the State Constitutional Convention of 1789–90, and appears to have been a man of much influence in that body. He died at his residence in Exeter township, January 31, 1806, in his seventieth year. He married, in 1761, Anne Boone, daughter of James Boone and Mary Foulke. She was a full cousin of Colonel Daniel Boone, of Kentucky. The Boones were Quakers, the Lincolns were Congregationalists. Hence it appears by the records of Exeter Meeting, October 27, 1761, that Anne Boone "condones" her marriage for marrying one not a member of the Society. She was born April 13, 1737, and died April 4, 1807. Their children were *Mordecai; Thomas*, d. 1864; *James*, d. 1860; *John; Mary*, m. Joseph Boone; *Martha; Anne*, m. William Glasgo; and *Phœbe*, m. David Johnson. Descendants of James reside at Birdsboro', Berks County.

Ludwig, John, of Berks County, was a native of the county. But little is known of his early history. He became, however, a substantial farmer, and at the opening of the Revolutionary war was a man of prominence in the county. He served as a captain in the Third Battalion of Associators, and was in service at Trenton and Princeton. He was commissioned a justice of the peace in 1777, and recommissioned in 1784. He was a delegate to the Pennsylvania Convention to ratify the Federal Constitution in 1787, but, with his colleagues, did not sign the ratification. He served in the General Assembly in 1782–83, and again in 1788–90. In 1789 he voted against calling the convention to alter the State Constitution of 1776. He was a member of the Pennsylvania House of Representatives from 1790 to 1793. Governor Mifflin appointed him a justice of the peace April 17, 1795, and he was yet in commission at the time of his death, which occurred in July, 1802. He left a wife, Rachel, who, with his sons-in-law, John Miller, of Cumru,

and Samuel Filbert, of Oley, administered on his estate. Nothing is known of his descendants.

LUTZ, or LOTZ, NICHOLAS, of Berks County, was born in the Palatinate, Germany, February 20, 1740, coming to America when a young man. He located in Berks County, was a millwright by occupation, establishing a mill near Reading, at the mouth of the Wyomessing Creek. He became early identified with the cause for independence, and was a member of the Provincial Conference which met at Carpenters' Hall, June 18, 1776. He was in command of a battalion of Associators at the battle of Long Island, where he was taken prisoner, and confined until April 16, 1777, when he was admitted to a parole, but not exchanged until the 10th of September, 1779. He was appointed commissary of purchases April 3, 1780, and served in the General Assembly almost continuously from 1783 to 1790. He was a delegate to the Pennsylvania Convention to ratify the Federal Constitution in 1787, but did not sign the ratification. Under the Constitution of 1789–90 he served as a member of the House of Representatives from 1790 to 1794. He was appointed by Governor Mifflin one of the associate judges of Berks County, February 6, 1795, serving until a short time of his death. He died at Reading on the 28th of November, 1807, aged sixty-seven years. Colonel Lutz was an intimate friend of Charles Biddle, of General Mifflin, and Alexander Graydon. He married, and left eight children.

(To be continued.)

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN WILLIAM STRAHAN AND DAVID HALL, 1763–1777.

(Continued from page 111.)

LONDON January 11, 1770.

DEAR DAVIE

I wrote to you on the 6th of last Month by the Packett, wherein I acknowleged the Receit of yours of Septr 30.—The Reason Cole's Dict. is charged 6d higher than usual, it is nearly out of print, will not be reprinted for Years, if at all, and cost me the very Money I charge them to you. The next you have will probably come still dearer. Others are charged somewhat higher on account of the increased Price of Binding, which still continues so high, that by one third of what I have lately sent you I do not get 2 ℘ Ct—This is the Reason also why I have bound a few of your Books in Sheep, otherwise I must actually have lost by them. But as you tell me, they will not answer in that way with you, I will send no more in that Manner. The other Particulars in that Letter shall be attended to.

I have since been favoured with yours of Novr 8 and 11. acknowleging the Receit of mine by Sparks of Augst 20, and inclosing a Bill on Scott and Pringle for £318 : 16 : 7. which is accepted and placed to your Credit; and shall pay the small Balance of £3 : 16 : 10¾ to Mr. Kincaid on Demand. —I observe that the Watches are not yet nearly disposed of, which I am sorry for; but hope they will now soon sell off, during this Non-importation; which I cannot think will last long, however appearances seem to indicate the contrary. In the mean time, People with you, who owe Money in Britain, have an Opportunity of discharging their Debts at above 20 ℘ Ct Discount, by the Fall of Bills of Exchange. So that, upon the whole, as I always imagined, this temporary Stagnation will be hurtful to neither Side of the Water.

I am now, even as Matters are circumstanced, of the same Opinion.

I have also yours of Novr 25 and Decr 2, with a large Order, which shall be forwarded to you with all Speed.—The Omissions you mention, and the particular Directions you give, shall be carefully noticed.—What you say about the Bible, I fear, is too true, and that no considerable Sale can be expected with you, as you deal only in the cheapest Sort, which are here hardly worth printing. However, in your next, I hope you will write me, at once, your whole Mind upon the Subject. Upon this Branch of the Business I have indeed little Dependance. The chief Profit lies in Acts of Parliament, Proclamations, &c. &c. of which I shall now, in a very little time, know more, as the Patent takes place in a few Days.—Both your Ticketts, I am sorry to tell you came up Blanks, I therefore inclose them. I have no good Luck, I think, in buying them for you. Shall I still continue to try your Fortune and Mr Stewarts in the next, if there should be one this Year?

A few Days after I had forwarded my Letter of Decr 6, I sent you another, inclosing one from me to Dr Franklin with regard to your American Affairs, with his Answer, which you would find very much to the Purpose. But notwithstanding this was put into the Hands of the Duke of —— and the other Chiefs of the Ministry, you see, by the King's Speech which is conveyed to you in this Packett, in what a disagreeable Situation that interesting Dispute to both Countries still stands.—But spite of Appearances I would not have you be discouraged from hoping that before the Session is closed, every thing will be properly adjusted I have good Reasons for saying so; and I hope you will find I am not mistaken. On Tuesday, at the Opening of the Parliament, I was in the House of Lords, where the Debate upon the Speech lasted till 10—at Night.—I will, as nearly as I can recollect, give you the Speakers in order, (1.) The Duke of Ancaster moved for the Address in the usual Way; and was seconded by (2) Lord Dunmore, who among other Things, observed, that the Americans would soon be

quiet, if they were only left to themselves. (3) Lord Chatham next rose up, and made a pretty tolerable Speech of about an Hour in length. He animaverted upon the late Peace, which, he said, had left us without a single ally, and would be of short Duration; that we had treated the Americans improperly; that he had always thought so; but that he did not intend to *flatter* them, but to *favour* them. He particularly objected to the Words, *highly unwarrantable*, in the Speech, as by much too severe; as he apprehended the Combinations alluded to were by no means illegal. But he laid the greatest stress upon the Middlesex Election, which he expatiated upon at great Length, saying that it had made a Breach in the Constitution, by which a wicked Minister might enter and destroy it, that without Delay it ought to be repaired; and therefore proposed an Amendment to the Address, by adding a Clause, that they would immediately take into Consideration the late Election for the County of Middlesex, in which the Rights of the Freeholders of England had been violated in the Person of John Wilkes Esq; who had been, by only one Branch of the Legislature, declared incapable, &c.—That he did not enter into the Character of the man; that he had no Predeliction with regard to him, having he believed, (for he did read Newspapers,) had his own Share of Abuse from him; but that he looked upon the Precedent as of dangerous Tendency, with a great deal more to the same Purpose, which it is impossible to repeat or remember.—He was answer'd (4) by Lord Cholmondaly, who observed, that if the Behaviour of the Americans had been termed *treasonable*, he thought it deserved it; that as for the late Peace, he thought it an extreme good one; that he knew nothing of *allies*, but had heard of *Mercenaries*, and *Subsidiary Princes*, who would be as ready, he apprehended, to take our Money upon future Occasions as they had been formerly; that a convincing Proof that the late Treaty of Peace was advantageous to us, was, that on all Hands it was admitted that the French were so sensible of the Disgrace they suffered by the Terms of it, they would certainly break with us, as soon as they were in a Capacity

so to do.—(5.) Lord Denby spoke next to the same Purpose. —(6.) Next Lord Shelbourne on the opposite Side, but said nothing either strikingly particular, or new.—(7.) The Duke of Grafton next stood up, and in a very decent and modest Speech vindicated the Operations of the Ministry, and the Expressions in the Speech. With regard to the Peace he said, that however, some Men, from Motives of Ambition or otherwise, might be led to oppose every Measure adopted by the King's Servants, his Majesty had good reason to think it would be of some Continuance; that all the Assurances he had from other Powers of Europe authorised him to say so; but that, depending upon their effectual Support, they might be assured he would not suffer the Rights of his Crown to be invaded with Impunity, &c. &c.—(8.) The Lord Chancellor spoke next; declared for the Americans, and against the Conduct of the Commons respecting the Middlesex Election; said, no Motives of Ambition could induce him to declare his Opinion at this time; for that he spoke from his Heart, and was impelled by his Conscience to give his Vote to the best of his Judgement.—This, from him, agreeable to his known Obligations and Attachment to Lord Chatham, was expected; and yet it is not a little extraordinary to see so high an Officer of the Crown divide against the Court. The unavoidable Consequence is that he must, if the present Ministry stand their Ground, as I see no reason to doubt they will, if necessity turn out. Lord Chief Justice Wilmot, or Mr. Yorke, will probably succeed him. Most likely the first. Camden is not generally esteemed, being looked upon as a Tool and Creature of Chatham's.—(9.) Lord Marchmont stood up next and in a very plain and animated Speech displayed the Impropriety of carrying to the Throne a Complaint against the other House of Parliament in a Matter with which they had properly no Concern. That if they had, the proper Method of Adjusting such a Procedure was by Conference between the Houses, in which they might explain their Objections, and the Commons communicate the Grounds and Reasons of their Conduct.—(10.) Lord Temple spoke next. He made

use of the general Topics of Complaint, and expressed his Satisfaction in the Good Understanding which subsisted between his Brothers and him; but said nothing else worth recapitulating. (11.) Lord Lyttleton spoke (feebly and confusedly I thought) with much seeming warmth against the Election of Lutterel for Middlesex, and recapitulated the Arguments on that Side, which have been now hackneyed in an hundred Newspapers and Pamphlets. (12.) Lord Pomfret next stood up, and spoke very well in behalf of the Ministry, running over and confuting the various Grounds of Discontent, and those Grievances which so much Pains had been taken to display and aggravate. (13.) Lord Mansfield then rose up, and in his own masterly Way, shewed the Absurdity of their meddling in any Shape with the Elections of the other House, over which they had no Jurisdiction; that the Courts of Law had no Cognizance over them; that they were neither subject to the Statute nor Common Law, but to the Law of Parliament, which was only to be found in their Journals; that therefore the Interposition of this House in any Manner, much less in the Shape proposed, by way of Complaint to the Crown, was highly improper and unparliamentary; with a great deal more very sensibly to the same Purpose, sufficient to convince any reasonable and unprejudiced Bystander.—(14.) Lord Chatham rose up a second time, and endeavoured with all his Might to brow-beat Lord Mansfield and confute what he had advanced.—He appealed to the Clause itself which he had offered to be inserted in the Address, whether it conveyed any Complaint. It only stated Facts, he said, as they confessedly were allowed by both Parties; and then run on from one Topic to another, in no regular way, but in the stile of Chit-chat, about the general Distraction of the Kingdom, of North America, and of Ireland, Wherever we turn our Eyes, says he, we see nothing but Discontent and Uneasiness, &c. &c. This second Speech of his was much inferior to his former, being full of forced Metaphors, and evidently laboured and deficient in point of Matter. I never saw him make so poor a Figure, or so much at a Loss for want of Argument.—However, he

did not provoke Lord Mansfield to reply; indeed there was not the smallest Call for an Answer; for he left his L^d M's. Arguments entire and unrefuted; but (15.) Lord Sandwich stood up, and in a manly and bold Manner declared the noble Earl who spoke last was wholly unintelligible. From beginning to End he could make nothing of it. That he set out with saying his proposed Clause contained no Accusation of the Commons, whereas upon the Face of it, it was a Charge against them in the most express Terms. He then expatiated upon the Futility of his Reply to Lord Mansfield, and other Assertions which were void of Foundation.—(16.) Lord Weymouth next spoke very well on the Side of Administration.—And the Debate was finally closed by (17.) the Duke of Richmond, who expressed himself with great Warmth and Bitterness against all the late Operations of the Ministry, using the common Topics of Declamation.—He seems to be of a discontented Disposition. Which is not much to be wondered at, for he and the Duke of Grafton were cotemporaries, and in some Sort Rivals for Court Favour, in which the latter hath greatly outstript him. But it is by no Means a singular Case, to see Men of even the highest Rank and Consideration—blending their own private Views and Quarrels with the Public Business, and bringing their Prejudices and Disappointments into the Senate, where they ought to come, in every Sense, unbiassed, and open to the Dictates of Reason and sound Policy.—The Address as at first proposed was, at length voted by a Majority of 100, to 36. The Chancellor, and to the Surprise of every body, the Duke of Northumberland siding with the Minority.—In the House of Commons the Debate was carried on much in the same Way, and with the same success. The Opposition pressed hard to have some Notice taken of the *Petitions*. But upon a Division, it was carried for the Address as it stands by 254 against 138, the Marquis of Granby voting with the Minority.—A rare Situation! when the Head of the Law and the General in Chief are in Opposition.

This introductory Bustle being now over, I hope they

will soon set about the *real* Business of the Nation, in which I think your American Affairs hold by much the highest Rank. Tho' Appearances are rather unfavourable; yet from the general Disposition of the Ministry, from the Assurances they gave you last Summer, and chiefly from my intimate Knowlege of some Men in Power, whose Opinion will have great Weight and Influence, I am apt to imagine all will soon terminate happily.—From your side of the Water they certainly receive Accounts widely different from what the Merchants in general receive here, which prevents them from hastily adopting any Plan of Conduct that looks like giving way to what they are led to believe are *unreasonable* Demands. But this cannot long hold. The Dispute *must* be settled; and it *will* be settled. My Opinion imparts little; but were I called to give it, I should (as I would in a Matrimonial Quarrel, to which this is not dissimilar) advice neither party to stand out upon Trifles or Punctilios. Seeing we must at length agree, neither of us being disposed to a final Separation.

I am now tired with writing.—Inclosed you have an answer to your Son's, my Namesake's Letter, long since received. We are all well, are glad your honest Woman is getting better, and desire to be affectionately remembered to you and yours. I will not again turn the Leaf, but subscribe myself here

My dear Davie

Most cordially and affectionately Yours

WILL: STRAHAN

LONDON January 16, 1770.

DEAR DAVIE

I wrote you last Thursday (the —) by this Packett, a long Letter, giving you the Substance of the Debate in the House of Lords the 9th. As I find the Packett is not yet sailed I inclose the Lottery-ticketts which I forgot to send you before, and a Letter from my Wife.

Nothing is done yet in either House of Parliament. The Speaker of the Commons hath been somewhat indisposed, which hath hindered them from entering upon Business;

and the Lords adjourned yesterday till Monday next, to give time to fill up the Chancellor's Place by appointing a Successor, or by putting the Seals in Commission. It is not yet determined which. If another Chancellor, it will probably be Mr Yorke. If a Commission, it will be Chief Justice Wilmot and Judges Willes and Smith. The Ministry are not a little embarrassed at present; but if they stand their Ground, *as I am assured they will* they have nothing to fear. I repeat my Opinion and firm Belief, that your American Affairs will soon be amicably adjusted, in spite of all Appearances to the Contrary.

I am now extremely busy in getting the Materials removed from the King's Printing-house in Blackfriers, where it has been for above a Century, to the New Building lately erected next my own House for that Purpose. The old Patent expires next Saturday. We are at present, all well, as we hope you and yours all are.

I am ever
Dear Davie
Your affectionate and faithful
Friend and Servant
WILL: STRAHAN

I need not tell you that Dr F. is most solicitous in your Interests; being strenuous, resolute, and attentive.

By the Packett

LONDON March 19, 1770.

DEAR DAVIE

My last to you was dated the 17th Febry by that Month's Packett. By this Month's I did not write you, having nothing new or agreeable to communicate. Inclosed is the Invoice for all you have hitherto ordered, which I have completed as far as I was able; but unluckily, you will observe, many Articles are now reprinting, or out of print altogether. However, several of them will come in a Month or two. There may, possibly, be some few Mistakes, tho' as usual, I packed every Book myself; but these you will note, and acquaint me with.

Coming into Possession of the King's Patent in the be-

ginning of a late, and of Course, a very hurrying Session of Parliament, I have been too much engaged ever since to be able to attend to Politicks in such a Manner as to convey to you a full and connected Account of what has been passing here since I wrote last. Several important Debates in both Houses I could not be present at, without neglecting my own Business very materially, which, while I remain in Business, I cannot suffer myself to be guilty of; so that you must be satisfied at present, with a general Idea of our Situation, which I will endeavour to give you.

And first, with regard to North American Affairs, you will have already heard, that the House of Commons have disagreed to the Repeal of the Duty on Tea, while they give up all the rest. This, you will say, is doing Things by Halves, of all others, in my Mind, the worst Method. This, if I am not greatly deceived, is not owing to Lord North, our present Premier, but to the Influence of the Duke of Bedford, and his Friends, who cannot be brought to consent to it. And yet, it is far from impossible that this important Matter may still take a favourable Turn before the Bill get through both Houses. Our Operations have of late been so variable, that nothing is wholly to be dispaired of, whether the Event be of a good or a bad Tendency.—Lord Chatham, who is still playing an Artful and factious Game, in order to push himself into Power hath lately thrown out, in the House of Peers, a Sort of dark and mysterious Opinion with regard to the Colonists, by which he leaves himself at Liberty to take whichever Side will suit his own private Purposes best. He said, about ten Days ago, that if the Americans went too far, he should be among the first to condemn them; so you can have no firm Dependance upon him.—Last Wednesday I was in the House of Lords from 3 to 10 at Night, during a long tedious Debate upon the Expences of the Civil List, and upon addressing the King to lay the several Particulars before them, in the Course of which it clearly appeared, that they were in no Respect larger than during former Administrations in the late and present Reign. The Duke of Grafton spoke

extremely well, and much to the Purpose. Lord Chatham, at length, stood up to answer him; and the Debate insensibly turned into a personal Altercation between them. Lord C. endeavoured to justify his own Oeconomy while he himself had the Direction of the Treasury; talked much of the Danger our Liberties were in from the Application of Secret Service Money, and called the Duke a Novice in State Affairs.—The Duke replied, with becoming Spirit, that the whole Amount of the Secret Service Money during the time he was in office was £35,000; that he appealed to their Lordships how far such a Sum (supposing the whole employed in that Way) was sufficient to bribe both Houses of Parliament; and that the noble Earl who spoke last, had not always thought him such a Novice as he now pretended to deem him, else he had not himself pressed him so much to accept the high Office he lately had the Honour to hold. —Lord C. endeavoured to evade this, by saying, he did indeed recommend him to fill the Office of first Lord of the Treasury, but never thought him equal to the station of First Minister; that, besides, he had departed entirely from the Plan he had, upon that Occasion, concerted with him, and agreed to; that he had discarded many of his (Lord C.s) Friends, and among the rest the Lord Chancellor Camden, whom he had displaced for giving his Vote in that House, which totally put an End to Freedom of Debate. Upon this, Lord Marchmont moved that these Words should be taken down by the Clerk, assigning this Reason for it, that from his own Knowledge they were not true; for that the Ministry intended, and he himself advised, to turn out Lord Camden above a Month before he gave that Vote respecting the Middlesex Election alluded to. Lords Chatham and Temple now grew outrageous, insisted upon it that what he had said was strictly true, and seconded Lord M's Motion to have the Words taken down and read; especially when they perceived that the Court Party, unwilling to bring Matters to Extremities, were inclined to let the Affair drop, by coming to no Vote about it; for Lord Sandwich had moved to adjourn. However, when the Opposi-

tion appeared to be positive to have the Words read (for Chatham wanted nothing more than to incur their highest Censure, and even to be sent to the Tower, in order to raise his Popularity) he, (Lord S.) withdrew his Motion for adjourning, and they were read accordingly.—It was next proposed, and carried upon a Division, by 83 to 35. That *it did not appear to this House that he had any just Ground for that Assertion;* and so the Matter ended, much to the Mortification of Lord Chatham, who now appears upon their Journals to have told a falsity. Many Lords spoke upon the Occasion. Among the rest Lord Weymouth, who told the House, that whenever they had a Mind to enquire further into that Matter, he would tell them a better Reason than any that had yet been mentioned why Lord Camden had been displaced. By the bye, Camden was himself in the House that Day, but sneaked away as soon as his Name was Mentioned.

The Gazette will tell you the Answer the King gave last Wednesday to the *Remonstrance* of the *Livery* of London, as it is called, but to which one tenth of them never assented; and there too you will find a Copy of that extraordinary Performance. On Thursday the House of Commons addressed his Majesty to lay both before them; and to day they are to take this impudent Application to the Throne under Consideration.—I wish I could form a Guess how they will treat those who promote it. Opinions are various. Some think they will act with Vigor upon this Occasion; but I am afraid they will not; tho' they cannot have a better Opportunity of quelling this unruly Faction than this superlative Piece of Insolence affords them. The Singularity of our present Situation is this, that while there is actually no National Dissatisfaction existing, our Newspapers are filled with nothing but the most daring and unprecedented Attacks upon the Ministry and the King himself.—And all this is in reality the Work of an Inconsiderable Junto of Men, which I shall here name to you.

1. Wilkes, the Members of ye Club at the London Tavern, calling themselves, the *Supporters of the Bill of Rightes.*

2. Our Mayor Beckford, Sheriffs Sawbridge and Town-

send, Aldermen Trecotlick and Stevenson, George Bellas, the Proctor, Beardmore the Attorney, one Lovell, and a Number of Wrong-headed Common Council Men.

3. Camden (who they say parried the *Remonstrance*), Chatham, Temple, Grenville, Burke (the supposed Author of *Junius*), Wedderburn, Shelbourn, D. of Richmond, and other Candidates for Power and Places, and who foment all this purely to bring about a Change of Ministry.

4. And lastly, the Canaille of this City, grown insolent beyond all Example, by the Impudence of their Leaders abovementioned, and the almost wholly inexcusable Lenity and Forbearance of Government.

Some imagine the Mayor and Sheriffs will be fined, the first £30,000 and the others £10,000 each, and, (as in our Provosts Wilson's Case, in Porteous's Affair, who much less merited the Dishonour,) be rendered by Act of Parliament, incapable of holding any Office civil or military in these Kingdoms.—But, for my own part, I am far from thinking that any such vigorous Measures will be taken. It is however much to be lamented, that these factious Squabbles should so much retard all Public Business, that neither House have yet had a serious and cool Debate upon any Thing of real Consequence.—Wilkes's Confinement expires the 18th of next Month, when it is likely the Malcontents will make their last and boldest Effort to put things into Confusion. But as the Parliament will then be sitting (tho' some think they will separate the 11th) I doubt not but proper Measures will be taken to disappoint and defeat them.

I will endeavour to write you again by the April Packett, and remain, in the mean while, with the affectionate Compliments of all my Family to you and yours,

Dear Davie

Your most faithful and
affectionate Friend and Servant

WILL: STRAHAN.

By the Mary & Eliz.
Capt. Sparks, Q. D. C.

(To be continued.)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

PENNSYLVANIA AND THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION. Edited by Prof. John Bach McMaster.—Pennsylvania was the first of the large States to adopt the Federal Constitution. It was here that it was first thoroughly debated and considered. The excitement it called forth was intense, and the papers of the day were filled with able essays regarding it. In these papers will be found (almost entire) the debates in the Pennsylvania Convention called to ratify the Constitution. They have never been printed except in that form. What Elliot gives as the debates in the Pennsylvania Convention is nothing but the substance of James Wilson's remarks made in a running debate, brought into the form of a single speech. What called these remarks forth does not appear; nor are the views of the minority of the Convention, which embody the very spirit of subsequent amendments to the Constitution, given at all.

It was hoped that upon the Centennial Anniversary of the adoption of the Constitution Congress would make provision for collecting and publishing everything showing the development of thought that led to its formation. But as the appropriation requested for this purpose failed to pass, it is left to the citizens of each State to preserve the records of the part their ancestors bore in this momentous period of our country's history. Pennsylvania's part in the organization of the government, as in the struggle which preceded it, was broad and honorable,—more broad and more honorable than has ever heretofore been set forth. The example she set in recognizing the claims of the smaller States made the adoption of the Constitution possible.

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania desires to place this record permanently before the country. It proposes to publish in a single volume of about five hundred pages the debates in the Pennsylvania Convention, and the ablest essays printed at the time, and, if the space will allow, biographical notices of the members of the State Convention, and of Pennsylvania's representatives in the Federal Convention. Prof. John Bach McMaster has generously offered to edit the volume. It will be impossible to print it as one of the series issued by the Publication Fund of the Society; and, as no portion of the expense will be charged to the fund, subscribers to that fund as such will not receive it. We therefore ask that all of the members of the Society will aid in the publication of the volume. Should any profit result from its issue, it will be subject to the order of the Council of the Society. The labors of the editor and of the committee are gratuitous.

We earnestly solicit your subscription to aid in the publication of the work. Five dollars per copy.

Respectfully yours,
JAMES T. MITCHELL,
SAMUEL W. PENNYPACKER,
FREDERICK D. STONE,
Committee.

OBITUARY NOTICES, PENNSYLVANIA GAZETTE.—Yesterday was interred here the body of Mary Bradway, formerly a noted midwife. She was born on New Year's day 1629–30—and died on the second of January 1729–30—just one hundred years and a day. Her constitution wore well to the last, and she could see to read without spectacles a few months since.
Jany 6. 1729–30

Sunday last died of a flux at Newtown in Chester County Philip Rhyddarch in the 102d year of his age, He was born in Caermarthenshire in South Wales, and came into Pennsylvania about 40 years ago. He was a man of a peaceable disposition, very religious, and remarkable for his temperance, having never been overcome with drink during his whole life He has left behind him living, six children, 35 grandchildren, and 48 great grandchildren.
Sept: 17. 1730.

Monday last died Mr. David Potts, one of the Members of Assembly for this County
Novr 19. 1730.

Thursday last died here, after forty-eight hours illness, Dr. Griffith Owen, a young gentleman very much regretted.
March 7, 1731–2.

This day was decently interred here, Mr. Richard Townsend, a very ancient preacher among Friends, and a man of exemplary innocence and piety.
March 30, 1731–2.

Burlington Octob: 16. Yesterday about eleven o'clock in the forenoon at the Point House, died of a fever after a nine days illness, James Smith, Esq; one of his Majesty's Council, and Secretary for the province of New Jersey, much lamented in general, as justly deserving the fair character he bore; being a man of great benevolence, moderation, and justice in the offices he filled, and regretted by his acquaintances as a cheerful sincere friend
Oct 26. 1732.

Saturday morning last died John Moore, Esq. collector of his Majesty's Customs for the port, which place he enjoyed above 30 years and was esteemed a good officer. He died in the 74th year of his age
Dec: 7. 1732.

The week before last died here, after a short illness, Mr. Joseph Norris, eldest Son of Isaac Norris, Esq; He was a young gentleman of considerable learning, yet a most facetious and agreeable companion; and notwithstanding a polite education, was a sincere friend. His uncommon good-nature alone were sufficient to make his death regretted by all that had the pleasure of his acquaintance.
Oct: 18. 1733.

Sunday night last, died here Mrs. Mary Chew, the wife of Dr Chew of this city, a gentlewoman very much beloved, and regretted by all that knew her.
May 30, 1734.

Last Saturday morning died here, the lady of our worthy Governor, [Gordon] at his Country house near this city, after an illness which for some months past had seized her, though she was confined to her bed four days only before her death. Her corpse being brought to town early on Sunday morning was decently and honorably interred in our church about eight in the evening. She was descended of an honorable family in the southern part of Scotland, which suffered much through their too great attachment to that unhappy Prince King James the Second: Her two brothers bred up by their father in the protestant religion, being afterwards seduced from it, the eldest, dead some years since held an high office in the court of the late duke of Tuscany, and the other is now confessor to his most Catholic Majesty. The lady was much esteemed by all that knew her, for her solid good sense, exemplary piety and extensive charity, in which last few were more private, or according to their circumstances more bountiful to the unfortunate. She died a true protestant of the Communion of the Church of England, for which she had so great an esteem and veneration, that very advantageous offers made to her by her brothers could not draw her aside from a strict adherence to the principles of that excellent church. Her death is universally lamented here, and she has left behind her a numerous family to deplore their irreparable loss.
Sept: 19. 1734.

On Saturday last died here Mrs Mary Allen, (mother of William Allen, Esq; Chief Justice of this Province) in the eighty-first year of her age; and on monday following her remains were interred in the family vault in this city, in presence of a great number of the principal inhabitants of the place. She was a lady of uncommon merit; esteemed and beloved by all that knew her, for her amiable and exemplary life, which was adorned with every virtue that endears the christian character; but particularly eminent for unaffected piety, and unbounded charity, without the least ostentation.
April 24, 1760.

On Monday evening departed this life, universally lamented Mrs. Margaret Allen, wife to William Allen, Esq; Chief Justice of this Province; and sister to the Honorable James Hamilton, Esq; our present governor; and last night she was interred in the family vault, attended by a great number of the principal inhabitants of the city. She was a lady of most accomplished character, and on all public occasions, as far as her sphere reached, was a zealous encourager of every commendable and useful undertaking, warm in her friendships, remarkably charitable to the distressed, benevolent to all, and a singular example of moderation and humility in affluent circumstances. Being possessed of a very improved understanding, lively imagination, and penetrating judgment, she never failed to give the most sensible pleasure to all who had the happiness of her acquaintance. But her chief desire was to be found in private life, one of the best wives, and of mothers; in which character she had the felicity to shine with singular lustre, and hath therefore now left a most affectionate husband, and a numerous and hopeful family of children to bewail a loss, which nothing earthly can supply to them. She bore her disorder with fortitude and serenity; and having been long apprized of the nature of her case, she had resigned herself to wait her dissolution with all christian patience and submission, making use of every interval of her pain to give such lessons of instruction to her children, as showed a mind equally affectionate and enlightened with re-

spect to herself, whatever concern she had, it seemed chiefly to arise from the thoughts of that trouble and distress which she apprehended her severe and tedious illness must necessarily give to those about her.
May 15, 1760.

Yesterday morning, after a tedious sickness, departed this life, in the 74th year of his age, the Reverend Mr Jones, who had been minister of the Baptist congregation in this city near thirty-five years.
July 17. 1760.

On Sunday the sixth of this month, departed this life in the seventy first year of his age, Samuel Dickinson Esq. first Judge of the Court of Common Pleas in Kent County, on Delaware, and on the Wednesday following, was interred in the burying-ground belonging to the family, near Dover, attended by most of the principal inhabitants in the county. He was a gentleman possessed of so many worthy and valuable qualities of disposition and understanding, that if justice only should be done to his merit, strangers to his person would imagine the character to be drawn by some near and afflicted mind; and to those who had any intimacy with him nothing more than that is necessary to make them preserve the remembance of his virtues, and to render his memory ever dear to them. The latter part of his life convinced all who saw him frequently, that such things as seem to be the greatest evils cannot make a good man miserable even here, for having supported a tedious state of uncommon pain and sickness with so much resignation and patience, as to be always remarkably agreeable in conversation, and very often acknowledging his gratitude to the Supreme Being, for the happiness he enjoyed in this condition, he left this world with a cheerfulness becoming the blessed hope he felt and expressed, to his last moments, of entering into another infinitely better.
July 24, 1760.

Yesterday were interred the remains of William Masters Esq; who was one of the representative of this city in Assembly, and a Provincial Commissioner for several years. He was not more remarkable for his superior fortune, than for his firm adherence to the constitution of his country, and the common rights of mankind—
Novr: 27. 1760.

A HISTORY OF THE REGION OF PENNSYLVANIA NORTH OF THE OHIO AND WEST OF THE ALLEGHANY RIVER, OF THE INDIAN PURCHASES, AND OF THE RUNNING OF THE SOUTHERN, NORTHERN, AND WESTERN STATE BOUNDARIES. ALSO AN ACCOUNT OF THE DIVISION OF THE TERRITORY FOR PUBLIC PURPOSES, AND OF THE LANDS, LAWS, TITLES, SETTLEMENTS, CONTROVERSIES, AND LITIGATIONS WITHIN THIS REGION. By Hon. Daniel Agnew, LL.D., late Chief Justice of Pennsylvania. Kay & Brother, Philadelphia, 1887, 8vo, pp. 246.

Judge Agnew's book is full of interest. From a professional standpoint the bar is indebted to him for a lucid and valuable treatise explaining the intricacies of the questions which arose in the settlement of the land titles in the northwestern portion of Pennsylvania. The titles to land in this section were so involved that only a few lawyers who had studied the subject with great care, and had devoted themselves to the mastery of the difficult problems presented, were considered by the profession as at all competent to deal with them. Chief among these was the Hon. Daniel Agnew, whose reputation as an authority on questions

relating to land titles in the interior of the State followed him to the Supreme Court, where, as Justice and Chief Justice, he was called upon to deliver the opinions of that court in most of the intricate land cases which were decided during the time in which he sat upon the bench.

The historical features of the book cannot fail to arrest the attention of the lay reader. The narrative of the influence of the French and Indian war and the treaty of Paris of 1763, of the difficulties which the English encountered from the Indians in the endeavor to reap the benefits of that treaty, the final overthrow of their pretensions by the war of the Revolution, and the succession of the United States to titles claimed by discovery and occupation by the French and English, are set forth, as well as the expeditions against the Indians led by Crawford in 1782, by Harmar in 1790, by St. Clair in 1791, and the successful operations of Wayne, ending in the treaty of peace with the Indians in 1795, which was ratified by the Senate of the United States.

Judge Agnew describes the various purchases from the Indians by which the Indian titles were extinguished "under the humane and enlightened policy which characterized the course of William Penn and his heirs," and cites the divesting act of the Assembly of November 27, 1779, by virtue of which the Commonwealth became the sovereign proprietor of all the lands within the State, saving to the Penns all manors, private estates, and quit-rents, and all titles granted by the Penns prior to July 4, 1776.

The effects of the acts of Assembly providing for the redemption of certificates of depreciation given to the officers and soldiers of the Pennsylvania Line in unlocated lands, and of the donation of lands to officers and soldiers in fulfilment of the promise of the State, with the many intricate and difficult questions which arose under them respecting the surveys, the limitations, the taxes, the selection of lands, etc., are carefully treated.

The Erie Triangle, the Reservations, and indeed the whole subject, closing with the decisions of the Supreme Court, which have finally settled the conflicting claims, and given stability to the titles to that section of the State, are explained and discussed with clearness and ability.

Judge Agnew has brought to his work much personal knowledge and great experience. His book has rescued from oblivion an interesting and important portion of the history of our State, and it contributes to its legal literature a fund of information on the subject of which it treats which, it is safe to say, could not be found elsewhere.

LETTERS OF WILLIAM REDWOOD, brother of Abraham Redwood, founder of the Redwood Library, Newport, R. I., to William Ellery. [Ellery MSS.]

FEBRUARY 6th 1773.

. . . The Assembly of this Province are now Siting and there appears to subsist more harmony between the Governor and Assembly than formerly; they have done more Business than usual, in the early part of their Siting: They have passed a Bill for Emiting £150 000 Paper Currency, to be let out on Land security and no Person to have more money, than will amount to one third of the value of the Land to be Pledged, its to be sunk in sixteen years. and one other Bill they have passed, for Building a new Goal & Work-house, in or near this City, (I really believe the Talk of the Tin Canister &c brought it on the Carpet.) The old Prison & Work-house is situated near the Middle of the City, and consequently much confined, and deprived of good Air, which I apprehend must render it very prejudicial to those who are confined there,

The place to Set the New one is not yet determined, but the Building is to be large & Commodious, and Set in an Airy place: A Bill is also Passed for Building an addition to the Market, (in Market Street,) which is already 900 feet in length, and 20 in Breadth, but there is an absolute necessity for an addition; many hundreds of Persons who bring Provisions to Market, are under the necessity of exposing them for Sale in the open Streets; which must be very disagreeable in Stormy Weather. I would not be understood that the People carry the Provisions about the Streets from House to House as they do in Newport, but that they Stand or Set in the Street adjoining the Market, in which there is not room for them. The addition is to be 400 feet in Length, and the same Breadth of the old Market. There are several other inferior Markets in this City, some of which are to be enlarged next Summer. . . . I remain with much Esteem

Thy Assured Friend
WILLIAM REDWOOD.

PHILADELPHIA Septr 1st 1774.

DEAR FRIEND

Last third day Evening Governor Ward arrived in this City in perfect Health, and deliver'd me thy Kind Letter; I will shew him all the Civility in my power, he makes my House his Home, and will continue with me during his Tarry here I hope, his Company is very agreeable to me and although my time is pretty much taken up in Business, I will appropriate as large a share of it to wait on him, as I can conveniently. The next morning after Govr Ward's Arrival the Delegates from the several Provinces waited on him at my House, they are not all arrived, but all that were in this City at that time came, which were all the Delegates from So. Carolina except one who is expected here from New York this day. those from Boston, from New Hampshire &c. with a Number of other very Respectable Inhabitants of this City among which number was Jno. Dickinson Esqr the Pennsylvania Farmer with whom Govr Ward is to Dine next Seventh day. I have had an opportunity of hearing the sentiments of all the Gentlemen Delegates from the Several Provinces now in the City, Respecting the unhappy Differences between G. Britain and the Colonies, and they appear to be firm in the Cause of Liberty, they are all very free and conversable as the Congress will be held in Carpenter's Hall which is directly opposite my House, I shall have an opportunity of hearing from time to time how they go on, I apprehend they will be the most Respectable Body that ever met together in North America. Govr Hopkins and his Spouse arrived in this City last evening in good Health, they make my House their Home during their tarry here. The Congress meet to proceed on Business on second day next.

The Delegates from Connecticut arrived here last Evening. Governor Ward & myself waited on them directly after their Arrival, they appear to be very Clever, The Delegates from Jersey, New York, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina &c are not yet arrived, they are all expected (except those from No. Carolina,) in a few Days. I don't expect I shall have time to write another Letter ℘ this opportunity, for which Reason I must beg the favor of thee to Read this Letter to my Brother & all my good Friends thou may think proper. My Kind Love to all my Relations and Friends concludes me at present—

Thy Loving & Affectionate Fr^d
and Kinsman
WILLIAM REDWOOD.

ANNALS OF AUGUSTA COUNTY, VIRGINIA, WITH REMINISCENCES ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE VICISSITUDES OF ITS PIONEER SETTLERS; BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF CITIZENS LOCALLY PROMINENT, AND OF THOSE WHO HAVE FOUNDED FAMILIES IN THE SOUTHERN AND WESTERN STATES; A DIARY OF THE WAR, 1861–65, AND A CHAPTER ON RECONSTRUCTION. By JOSEPH A. WADDELL. Richmond, 1886. Pp. 374. Price, $2.50.

Mr. Waddell's book, which is fully described in its title-page, will be welcomed as an important contribution to the history of Virginia. He has drawn his material from original and authentic sources, and presents it in a lucid style and in chronological order. The biographical sketches are particularly valuable, and will be consulted by many beyond the limits of old Virginia. A representation of the seal of the county court of Augusta and three maps illustrate the work. The paper and press-work are very creditable to the Richmond printers. The volume is uniform with the publications of the Virginia Historical Society.

Received from Messrs. Randolph & English, Richmond, Va.

NECROLOGY.—The deaths of the following Resident Members have been reported since April 1 last:

Charles J. Peterson, elected 23d February, 1847.
Hon. William S. Pierce, elected 10th February, 1851.
Franklin A. Comly, elected 11th October, 1852.
John S. Newbold, elected 11th February, 1856.
Richard L. Nicholson, elected 14th April, 1862.
William Biddle, elected 28th April, 1862.
Hon. Ulysses Mercur, elected 27th January, 1873.

RECOVERY OF A COLONIAL DOCUMENT AFTER TWO HUNDRED YEARS.—It will be seen in Vol. I. p. 202 of the Pennsylvania Colonial Records, edition of 1852, under date of "19th 2d Mo. 1687," that a letter from the Governor and Council of New York, dated April 15, 1687, was received and read, and thought to be of such importance that a copy was ordered to be sent to their President, Thomas Lloyd, then in New York.

At a Council meeting held on the 10th of May following, the President then being present, the letter was read a second time, and it was ordered that an answer be sent by the first opportunity, relating: (1) "That we know of no such man as D'Plessy within this Province;" (2) that "as to the Susquehanna and Skoolkill Indians, we hope such care and diligence will be used as will give no just occasion of offence." This is all of the record, the letter not being given.

I cannot give the history of its whereabouts during these two hundred years, but I can produce the letter itself, recovered in an unexpected quarter after a long and unaccountable preservation. It was found in the attic of a house in Shirleysburg, Huntingdon County, Pennsylvania. The house was formerly owned by the Brewsters, then by Judge John Long, and, at the time of the discovery of the letter, by Judge William B. Leas. I can find nothing in the previous history of any of the families occupying the house that will give any explanation as to how it got there. It was first found about twenty years ago, and is now in possession of a son of the above-named Judge Leas. The paper is affected by age and is very frail.

The following is a correct copy of the letter:

GENTLEMEN.

This is by comand of his Ex'cye the Govern'r and his Councill to let you know that for the Conservation of pease and friendship between the

two crowns of England and France in these parts it has been agreed that no Runnawayes shall be entertayned by either partyes lett their pretenses bee what they will.

And that one D'Plessy a Frenchman Runnaway from Canada with another mans wife besydes being considerably indebted and after haveing lived for some tyme privately att Schonectide within this Govern'mt is fled in-to yours where, as the Govern'r & Councill are informed hee now remains.

Therefor to prevent the occasion of Controversy between the French and us this is to desyre you that you would cause that the sayd D'Plessy bee forthwith apprehended and sent back hither in order to his being returned to the Govern'nt of Cannada as by him it's desyred.

His Excell'cy and Councill have likewise information that last year you had greate quantityes of Bever and peltry from our Indians and are now employeing Frenchmen and others to goe up the Schoolkill and Susquehanna Rivers.

It is expressly contrary to the kings instructions that you should have any Comerce that way neither will your Govern'r bear you out in it. It being intended by the king that this Provinse alone as it has allwayes don should enjoy that trade.

Therefor I am to lett you know that if you would avoid the king's displeasure by not contradicteing what hee has declared to be his will you are to hold no further Correspondense with the Indians on Susquehanna nor Skoolkill above the falls neither concerning trade nor the purchase of land. Besydes that those people that shall be more immediately conserned will feel the smart of it in this that they will have their goods seized and themselves taken prisoners by our Indians (who have orders so to doe) & brought to Albany to answer the same. And those few familyes of Indians that live upon the Susquehanna & Skoolkill are to bee removed from thense unlesse they oblidge themselves to bring their trade to Albany as formerly.

It is not his Exc'yes intent to quarrell with your Governm't or to seek occasions to complayne against it but on the contrary hee takes this opportunity that if possible by a tymely notise hee may remove what may bee the occasion of dispute.

He further Comands mee to tell you that nothing shall bee occasion of differense between these Governmts, but where you seek to entrench upon the king's right, and where that is not interested you may depend upon it you have him your friend.

I am
Gentlemen
Y'r humble Servant.
J. S. SWINTON.

New York, 15th Aprill 1687.

(Addressed:) To the Hon'ble the president and Councill of Pennsylvania.

(Endorsed:) Dated 15th April [Part torn off.] by Capt. Munevalie ye 19 Apr. 1687.

A. L. GUSS.

THE HISTORICAL JOURNAL.—We have received the first number of this new monthly magazine, edited by Mr. John F. Meginness, the historian of the West Branch Valley. The field chosen by its projector is rich in historical events, as it embraces the charming valley of the West Branch of the Susquehanna, the romantic region of the Juniata, and the northwestern counties of the State. Special attention will be given to

gathering incidents of early times, reminiscences of pioneers, Indian antiquities, necrology, etc. We commend the *Journal* to all who are interested in the history of our Commonwealth. Published at Williamsport, Pa., at two dollars per annum.

THE AMERICAN GENEALOGICAL QUERIES FOR 1887.—Mr. R. H. Tilley, editor of the *Rhode Island Historical Magazine*, announces that his "Genealogical Queries for 1887" will be distributed about June 1, which will interest all who are at work on family histories. Address: Newport, R. I.

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE FIRST PERMANENT TRAMWAY IN AMERICA. By Robert Patterson Robins, A.M., M.D. Pp. 13.

Dr. Robins, in his paper, which was read before the Engineers' Club of Philadelphia in May of 1886, presents good evidence to substantiate his claim, that the tramway from Leiper's Quarries, on Crum Creek, to a landing on Ridley Creek, in Delaware County, three-quarters of a mile in length, was the first permanent tramway constructed in America. It was completed in 1810, and therefore antedates those constructed at Nashua, New Hampshire; at Quincy, Massachusetts, and the great enterprise at Mauch Chunk, in this State. An excellent map, and a biographical sketch of the projector, Thomas Leiper, give additional value to the paper.

CORRECTIONS.—In "William Whipple's Notes," etc., Vol. X. p. 366, foot-note, for Willow Grove, Bucks Co., read Willow Grove, *Montgomery* County; and in "The Federal Constitution of 1787," Vol. X. p. 452, fourth line from foot, for John Louis Barclay read John *Lewis* Barclay, he was named after the late John F. Lewis.

Queries.

THE PALATINES OF BLOCK ISLAND.—About the middle of the eighteenth century, either through shipwreck or other disaster, a number of Palatine emigrants were landed in destitute circumstances on Block Island. So far as local antiquaries have been able to discover, no record was preserved which contains the details of this transaction. It was simply known that a number of these emigrants were landed on the island, and that many of them perished. Some of the survivors left the island. One woman remained and married a negro.

The opportunity for fancy to play with the shadowy details of this certain disaster and probable shipwreck has not been neglected. Imaginary details of the shipwreck have been published on the one hand, and on the other a vague story is hinted at rather than told of some great crime committed, which resulted in the abandonment of these destitute creatures upon this outpost of the continent. The name of the country from which the castaways came has been applied to the ship. A light which has at times been seen from the island upon the surface of the ocean, and which in its form has suggested to the imagination of those who have described it some resemblance to a burning ship under full sail, has been called the "Palatine Light." The Palatine ship and the Palatine light have been celebrated in poetry and fiction. Whittier and Rev. Dr. Hale have each of them made use of the story and the tradition.

Of the fact that there were certain destitute people landed on Block

Island in the second quarter of the last century there is no doubt. I have recently met with a reference to the wreck in a letter which, unfortunately, is not dated, but which must have been written between 1732 and 1740, with strong probability that it was written in November, 1736.

One of the conjectures with reference to the castaways is that they were destined for Pennsylvania. Setting aside the theory that the name of the ship was the "Palatine," information as to shipwrecks about that date, and examination of the missing ships of that year, might lead up to knowledge concerning the event. If there be truth in the suggestion that the Palatines were destined for Pennsylvania, then some allusion to the wreck may be hidden in the records and correspondence in Pennsylvania covering that date, an allusion which might, perhaps, have no special significance except to one who was searching for the history of the Palatines. May I ask the publication of the foregoing, with a view of drawing forth such information as there may be upon this obscure point?

ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS.

Cambridge, Mass.

"EUGENIUS" AND DR. WILLIAM LEWIS, 1767.—Did not Franklin write under the name of "Eugenius"? In the Egerton Manuscripts in the British Museum are "Original letters and papers relating to various mechanical inventions, with drawings." No. 7 is "'Eugenius' to Dr. William Lewis, with an account of a 'machine for maintaining a uniformity of heat,' Philadelphia 9. Oct. 1767 f. 23."

Dr. William Lewis is probably the Dr. Lewis mentioned by Allibone as of Kingston, Surrey, author of several medical works, who died in 1781. Sparks's edition of Franklin's Works, 1840, makes no mention of this X. Vol., though there is frequent mention in the index to the "Letters of the Subject of Heat," upon which Franklin made several investigations. W. J. P.

WHO WAS DR. JOHN MORGAN'S MOTHER?—All the biographical sketches of this celebrated Philadelphia physician, including Dr. W. F. Norris's recently published work on "Pennsylvania Medical Biography," fail to mention the name of Dr. Morgan's mother. He was born in 1735, and was the son of Evan Morgan.

Was this the Evan Morgan who married Catharine Potts, and whose marriage is recorded in the register of Christ Church?

What relationship did Catharine Potts, wife of Evan Morgan, bear to the Potts families in Pennsylvania at that time? Was Dr. John Morgan their son?

WILLIAM JOHN POTTS.

Camden, N. J.

DR. BROWN OF THE NORTHERN LIBERTIES, 1746.—Information is desired of this person, whose residence was in the Northern Liberties from 1746 (and perhaps earlier) until shortly before 1760. In that year land was advertised in that township as formerly Dr. Brown's. What was his Christian name?

I have always suspected him to be the Dr. Joseph Browne, Franklin's early acquaintance in New Jersey, whom he met at Bordentown in 1723 (and who was also living there as late as 1738), and at whose inn he stopped in his memorable journey down the river. Dr. Wickes, in his "History of Medicine and Medical Men in New Jersey," gives a few additional particulars in regard to this singular character supplementary

to Franklin's graphic description, but is silent as to his future history and date of death. His plantation in Burlington County was offered for sale in 1730, upon which he was then living.

WILLIAM JOHN POTTS.

Camden, N. J.

REV. HENRY MARTEN.—What is known of this clergyman, who died in 1764? In a graveyard at Ashland Mill Creek Bridge, near Yardleyville, Pennsylvania, occur the following inscriptions on large slabs:

"Here Lieth the Body of the Rev. Henry Marten who departed this life April A.D. 1764, aged 44 years." . . .

"In memory of Elizabeth Marten wife of Rev. Henry Marten who departed this life 28 day of Oct 1760 In the 22 year of her age." . . .

W. J. P.

RITCHIE OR RICKEY.—Information is desired of Mary Ritchie or Rickey, who was married in Philadelphia, 13 January, 1767, to Alexander Sears Hill, of Massachusetts. Whose daughter was she?

C. A. R.

THOMAS BEE.—Date of death of Hon. Thomas Bee, of South Carolina, is requested.

J. W. J.

Replies.

MARY BECKET (Vol. X. p. 481, XI. 124).—The newly-acquired information promised on page 126 is to the effect that John Hornor, from Tadcaster, in Yorkshire, came to America with his wife, Mary, and their children in the year 1683. Some of their descendants are descendants also of Mary Becket. For several generations it was believed that the descent from Eleanor Percy was through Mary Hornor. One of her grandsons, born in 1737, is particularly referred to as having always entertained this belief. It was not until "several years after the death" of this grandson, writes one of *his* grandchildren,—a lineal descendant in the same degree from both Marys,—"probably fifty years ago," that information came from "some of the Bownes, who had been looking into their family pedigree, that the descent from Eleanor Percy was not through Mary Hornor, but through Mary Becket. This was accepted, supposing they had evidence that such was the fact."

The evidence, however, has never been produced. In its absence, the case in favor of Mary Hornor, already the stronger by reason of priority of claim, would seem to be further fortified by her possession of "large means," derived, according to the earlier tradition, from the "heiress," Eleanor Percy. A return to the pristine faith, that no reason has ever been shown for abjuring, would also rid us of the difficulty of accounting for the total disappearance of the fortune in the case of the penniless Mary Becket, and for the absence of all reference to it in the letters of the period. The child seems to have been quite dependent upon the benevolence of others. It may be mentioned, by the way, that she never got even the hundred pounds, nor any part of it, that her kind foster-parents had intended to settle upon her (see Vol. X. 482). Haydock writes that this money was placed at interest "and lay upon Ba . . . woods tenement" until it "amounted to 180 pound (I haveing given ye child credit for ye interest) there were 2 lives . . . a feauer entered ye family & in 7 or 8 weeks they both dyed & ye whole 180^l was lost."

And things having fallen out "thus in ye way of providence," as Roger says, he is by no means pleased with the presentation of a "bill," on Mary's account, "upon ye head of ye other," which also made his wife "uneasy, a word to ye wise is enough. Howev^r^, though ye mony was lost, as before, yet thou know^t^ something we have don, and may yet do something. But pray leave it to us and presse not further upon us."

So much for Mary Becket's claims as an heiress.

And now as to her parentage. I believe this to be settled by the parish register of Middlewich, Cheshire, an extract from which, certified by the present vicar, has been furnished me since the date of my last communication, together with a duplicate of the same from the transcripts of parish registers deposited in the diocesan registry in Chester.

According to this authority, she was the daughter of John Beckett and Mary Brundrett (a form, or probably a corruption, of Brandreth), who were married on the 4th of May, 1671, and she herself was baptized about two years and five months thereafter, on the 1st of October, 1673. Supposing the baptism to have taken place within the usual period after birth, this would make her not quite eleven years old when she reached Philadelphia, on the 17th of September, 1684.

And the same record tells us that on the very day of her christening her mother was buried. What became of the father does not appear. A search in the diocesan registry for his death or second marriage has been fruitless. The motherless child was adopted, as we know, by Eleanor Lowe, then living at Newton, within the parish and adjoining the town of Middlewich. The Lowes, not very long after this event, left Middlewich and went to reside at Crewood Hall, the home of Eleanor's ancestors, which had been given up by the Gerards,—then represented by Lt.-Col. Gilbert Gerard, the Parliamentarian,—who removed to their Chester house in 1670 or 1672. The estate was weighed down with incumbrances "that had been growing for ages." It may be of interest to Eleanor's American descendants to learn something of the subsequent history of the family that has so long occupied Crewood Hall. The eldest son became a physician, married a citizen's daughter, "of means," and left a child and heiress, the wife of Dr. Norreys, of Speke (on the Lancashire side of the Mersey, near Hale), who represented a family in the like state of decay, and who left two coheiresses, one the wife, or mother, of Topham Beauclerc (of the Duke of St. Alban's family), who died childless about the third quarter of the last century.

A comparison of dates given in Eleanor (Lowe) Haydock's "Testimony" concerning her husband, will show that she was a "Friend" at the time of Mary Becket's birth, and a wish to bring up the little orphan in the same faith may have been one of her motives in its adoption. There may also have been a blood relationship, or the father may have deserted the child, or perhaps was unfit or unable to support it. The precise date of Eleanor's removal to Crewood has not been ascertained, but whenever it was, she probably went with her brother John, who also had become a Quaker, one of the "many seals," as his sister says, of Roger Haydock's ministry.

There is no record of Eleanor Lowe's baptism in the diocesan registry, nor is her will to be found there, nor even an administration or inventory of her estate, so that it is probable that she had disposed, in her lifetime, of all that she had,—perhaps to her son Robert, who alone, of her children, survived her. The will of her husband, Roger Haydock, is recorded. It makes no mention of Mary Becket, but, after speaking of half a dozen chairs upholstered in "Russia leather," leaves half

the personal estate to testator's wife, Eleanor, and entails the real estate upon his son Robert and his (testator's) brother. It does not name another son who survived his father. The will, which is dated 29th December, 1690, with a codicil of 24th April, 1693, was proved in April, 1701.

I wish I were at liberty to give the name of the well-informed antiquary and historian to whom I am indebted for the greater part of this information, but to show his familiarity with his subject, and, incidentally, the value of his opinion that there can be no "reasonable doubt" of the identity of Mary Becket of the parish of Middlewich with the wife of Samuel Bowne, of Long Island, I may state that he has been, for fourteen years past, engaged upon a history of Frodsham, the parish in which the Crewood estate partly lies, and that his name is well known in connection with one of the most important works relating to the history and families of Cheshire.

Could you find room for some extracts from his letters? Some of the numerous descendants here of the families he names might value the information, slight as it is. He says that Roger Haydock was a yeoman, or gentleman farmer, rich, for those days, and probably so by descent. The question of his religion, before he joined the Society of Friends, was a matter of some interest. My correspondent says that he may have been a Papist, for the Haydocks were an old Catholic family in Lancashire, where the Church of Rome had so many adherents, but in a newspaper article that I once came across in a scrap-book in the Town Library at Warrington on the "Haydocs of Haydoc" (*sic*) I found that the family had been divided in this respect, and that two Rogers of the name had served on opposite sides in the civil war. It also occurs to me that our Roger's brother John speaks of their mother as being "inclined to the Presbyterian way." But to return to my correspondent. "Church Registers," he writes, "have been called 'the poor man's title deeds,' as it is only among them that, in this country, we can possibly hope to find anything relating to his ancestors. The most of the Becketts seem to have been agriculturists—probably well-to-do farmers—others were of the yeomanry rank, no doubt. We have no reasonable hope of tracing the genealogy of classes who, at the best, have only held a little land for, perhaps, a generation or two at different and remote periods, and whose deeds have long since been destroyed or utterly lost, as is the fate of all deeds belonging to very small properties. . . . But the Becketts must have been always looked upon as substantial yeomen; many members rising into the class above. . . . The letters you have referred to, as well as those printed in the journal (THE PENNA. MAG.) you kindly sent me, are, to me, the most interesting and novel of old documents. Old letters *here* are comparatively rare in families even of the best education of those times. . . . All these letters you refer to are clearly of the middle and lower middle classes, though I should put Haydock of the higher middle. The rarest possible thing, here, is a letter of any of these three classes, so far as my experience carries me. They have never been preserved. The Grammar Schools of the 17th cent. educated, up to a certain point, some of the farmer and tradesmen classes, who could write very good hands. But scarcely any of them had interest in a correspondence that could not be sent by ship, but had, generally, to be paid for at a practically prohibitive rate. But even the letters of *merchants* of that date are very rare in England. You may judge, then, how interesting to any reflective mind, are such letters as those that survive in America. . . . The Pembertons you mention probably sprang from the early manorial lords of that place, near Wigan, a few miles from Haydock. The Towneleys of Towneley, near

Burnley and Blackburn, are a very ancient Lancashire Catholic family just extinct (in 1878) in the male line. . . . I have among my papers. . . . some notes of ancient Lancashire charters relating to the Haydocks. Chorley (your Roger's residence) is about 2 or 3 miles from Coppull and about 8 or 10 from Standish; whilst Miles Standish came of the house of Duxbury, half a mile or so out of Chorley. . . . As to Crewood, the boundaries of the Parish of Frodsham cut right through the house. In 1775, they walked through a door-way and out at a window. But for the purpose of my History, I claim the family as Parishioners, which, in fact and practice, they were. For not only was half their house and much of their land in Frodsham parish, but they also buried &c there, and occasionally filled parochial offices in the 17th cent. The greater part of their estate lay in Weaverham (the next) parish."

THOMAS STEWARDSON.

THE PALATINES OF BLOCK ISLAND.—The editor of the PENNA. MAG. has in his possession a "Letter of John Philip Meurer to his Uncle and Aunt, wrote at Sea between Long & Block Island, 20 miles from New London, in America, May 21, 1742, on board the Ship Irene or Peace." Meurer was a member of the first organized colony of Moravians destined for the Province of Pennsylvania, which sailed from London, O. E., March 16, and anchored off Philadelphia June 6, 1742. At the custom-house their vessel was registered under the name of the "Snow, Catherine, Thomas Gladman, Master," but by the colonists she was called the "Irene." The following extracts from this letter, although not in strict accordance with the dates of Mr. Davis, are given as a possible solution to the subject of his query: "To-day we came to and sailed between Long and Block Island . . . our captain not being certain what course to take for New London, went on board a sloop near us and engaged the pilot to take us in. When he came on board and saw so many passengers, he inquired who we were and from whence we came. When informed, he stated that he had visited Marienborn and had lived some years at Koenigsberg. He has been here 17 years, and came over with 270 passengers who were cast away. . . . He is a Seventh Day Man, who keeps Saturday instead of Sunday. He also said, the year before, a ship came from Europe with passengers and just before making the land almost all of them died, and were buried, sometimes 20–30–40 in one hole." . . .

PANELES.—To the query of William Kite, PENNA. MAG., Vol. X. p. 360, I would state that the meaning of the word "Paneles" will be found in any Franco-Spanish dictionary thus, "Panelle-Panela: azúcar moreno sui purificar," according to which the word would signify *raw brown sugar.*

H.

E. W. S., YORK, PA.—"Mim" is an abbreviation of "Mimbo," a drink prepared from rum, water, and loaf sugar, as appears from the following "rates in Taverns," fixed by the justices of York County, Penna., in July of 1752, "for the protection of travellers from the extortions of inn-holders:"

"1 qt Mimbo, made of West India Rum and loaf . .	10*d.*
1 qt Mimbo made of New England Rum and loaf. .	9*d.*"

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THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION OF 1787.

SKETCHES OF THE MEMBERS OF THE PENNSYLVANIA CONVENTION.

BY WILLIAM HENRY EGLE, M.D.

(Concluded from page 222.)

McKEAN, THOMAS, of the city of Philadelphia, son of William McKean, of Scotch-Irish ancestry, was born in Chester County, Pennsylvania, March 19, 1734. He was educated at the academy of Rev. Francis Alison, and entered the office of David Finney, a lawyer of New Castle, Delaware. He was appointed deputy prothonotary there, and afterwards admitted to the bar, and in May, 1755, to that of Chester County. He afterwards went to England, and studied at the Middle Temple, London, being admitted May 9, 1758. In 1762 he was elected a member of the Assembly from New Castle County, and was annually returned until the Revolution, although for a portion of the time a resident of Philadelphia. In 1765 he assisted in

framing the address of the Colonies to the British House of Commons. In 1771 he was appointed collector of the port of New Castle; was a member of the Continental Congress in 1774, and annually re-elected until February, 1783, serving in that body during a period of eight and a half years, representing the State of Delaware. During this period he was not only President of that State (1781), but from July, 28, 1777, to December, 1799, held the office and also executed the duties of chief justice of Pennsylvania. He was a member in 1778 of the convention which framed the Articles of Confederation, President of Congress (1781), and a promoter of and signer of the Declaration of Independence. He commanded a battalion which served in the Jersey campaigns of 1776–77. He was a delegate to the Pennsylvania Convention to ratify the Federal Constitution in 1787, and, next to Wilson, one of the most fearless advocates for its adoption. He was a member of the Pennsylvania Constitutional Convention of 1789–90, and under it became its second Executive, filling the gubernatorial office three terms, from December 17, 1799, to December 20, 1808. He was a trustee of the University of Pennsylvania, one of the founders of the Hibernian Society, and a member of the Society of the Cincinnati. The College of New Jersey conferred upon him the degree of LL.D., as did also Dartmouth College. He died at Philadelphia on the 24th of June, 1817, and was buried in the First Presbyterian graveyard, that city. He was, without exception, one of the greatest legal minds in our early history, filling every station with distinguished zeal and fidelity,—a man of eminent learning, ability, and integrity, whom neither fear nor favor could bend from the stern line of duty. Governor McKean was twice married: first to Mary Borden, daughter of Joseph Borden, of Bordentown, New Jersey, who died in 1773, leaving six children; secondly, to Sarah Armitage, of New Castle, Delaware, leaving five children.

MacPherson, William, of the county of Philadelphia, was born in Philadelphia in 1756. He was the son of John MacPherson and Margaret Rodgers. The father was a

noted privateersman during the French and Spanish wars, while his mother was a sister of the Rev. John Rodgers, D.D., both natives of Londonderry, Ireland. The son was educated partly in Philadelphia and at the College of New Jersey. At the age of thirteen he was appointed a cadet in the British army, and in his eighteenth year, by purchase, he was commissioned a lieutenant in the Sixteenth British Regiment. When the Revolutionary war began, his sympathies were with his countrymen, although his allegiance to his sovereign retained him in the British service. The death of his brother, Major John MacPherson, in front of Quebec, who had espoused the cause of his country, completely changed his feelings. Tendering his resignation, he found his way into the patriot lines in 1778, and was, on the recommendation of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, commissioned by Congress a major by brevet in the Continental Line. He served as aid on the staff of Lafayette, and also on that of St. Clair, with distinction. He was one of the original members of the Society of the Cincinnati, served as a delegate to the Pennsylvania Convention to ratify the Federal Constitution in 1787, and was a member of the General Assembly, 1788–89. He was appointed, September 19, 1789, by President Washington, surveyor of the customs at Philadelphia; inspector of the revenue, March 8, 1792; and on the 28th of November, 1793, naval officer, which latter position he held until his death. During the Whiskey Insurrection, in 1794, he commanded the Philadelphia battalion, which went by the name of "MacPherson Blues." President Adams commissioned him, March 11, 1799, one of the brigadier-generals of the Provisional army, and in the so-called "Fries Insurrection" he was in command of the few volunteers called into that service. He died at his residence near Philadelphia, November 5, 1813, in his fifty-eighth year. General MacPherson was twice married: his first wife was Margaret Stout, who died December 25, 1797, aged thirty-three years; his second, Elizabeth White, daughter of the Right Rev. William White, Bishop of Pennsylvania, died in 1830, aged

fifty-four years. There was issue by both marriages. Of the heroes of the Revolution, none left a more imperishable record than General MacPherson.

MARSHEL, JAMES, of Washington County, was born February 20, 1753, in Lancaster County. He moved to the western country some three years prior to the Revolution, and settled in what is now Cross Creek township, Washington (then Westmoreland) County. He was on the Committee of Observation for the latter county at the outset of the Revolution, and captain in the militia for the protection of the frontiers. He was appointed a justice of the peace June 11, 1777, and, when the county of Washington was organized, commissioned one of its presiding justices. Under the constitution of 1776 he held the office of register and recorder from April 4, 1781, to November 19, 1784, and also served as county lieutenant. Governor Mifflin reappointed him register and recorder August 17, 1791, continuing in office to March 6, 1795. In the mean time he filled the position of sheriff from November 3, 1784, to November 21, 1787; was a delegate to the Pennsylvania Convention to ratify the Federal Constitution in 1787, of which he was a stern opponent; and was a member of the General Assembly, session of 1789–90. Biddle, in his autobiography, states that he was one of the principal promoters of the disturbance in 1794, but this arose from the fact that he was present when the mail was taken possession of by Bradford. The fact is, interference at such a time was useless. He was no doubt a man of considerable influence in the community, but far from being in league with the insurgents. Captain Marshel died March 17, 1829, at Wellsburg, West Virginia, whither he removed towards the close of the century. He left descendants in Western Pennsylvania.

MARTIN, JAMES, of Bedford County, was born in the Cumberland Valley, about the year 1750. In 1772 he resided in what was then Colerain township. In the campaign of 1776 he commanded a company of Associators, and during the Revolutionary era he was in active military

service, chiefly stationed on the frontiers to protect the farmers in sowing and gathering their crops. He was one of the sub-lieutenants for the county September 12, 1777, and a justice of the peace for some years. On the 26th of February, 1785, he became one of the judges of the Court of Common Pleas, and in 1787 a delegate to the Pennsylvania Convention to ratify the Federal Constitution. He did not sign the ratification. He was chosen a Councillor in 1789, and served in that capacity from November 12, 1789, until the Constitution of 1790 dissolved that body. He was elected sergeant-at-arms of the House of Representatives in December, 1790, serving that session. On the 17th of August, 1791, Governor Mifflin commissioned him an associate judge, an office he filled acceptably up to the time of his death.

Morris, James, of Montgomery County, son of Joseph Morris, was born in 1753. His father was a son of Anthony Morris, who was fourth son of Anthony Morris, an only child of Anthony Morris, born at St. Dunstan's, Stepney, London, August 23, 1654. In 1771, Joseph Morris, the father, bought a house and grist-mill, and ninety-four acres of land, on the now Morris Road and Butler Pike, in Upper Dublin township, Montgomery County, and located his son there. James Morris was elected to the General Assembly from Philadelphia County in 1782, and again in 1783. When the county of Montgomery was formed, he was commissioned one of its first justices of the peace, and judge of the Court of Common Pleas in 1785. He was a delegate to the Pennsylvania Convention to ratify the Federal Constitution in 1787, and a member of the State Constitutional Convention of 1789–90. Under this latter instrument, Governor Mifflin appointed him register and recorder of the county, serving until March 5, 1799. He was chosen a Presidential elector in 1792, and in 1793 commissioned a brigadier-general of the militia, having served in the military during and subsequent to the Revolution. He was on the Western Expedition of 1794. General Morris died the following year (1795), at the age of

forty-two years, and is buried in the Friends' ground at Plymouth. He married, at Friends' Gwynedd Meeting, on 27th, Tenth Month, 1772, Elizabeth Dawes, daughter of Abraham and Mary Dawes. Their daughter *Hannah* married Dr. Thomas C. James, whose daughter, *Phœbe M.*, is the wife of Saunders Lewis.

MUHLENBERG, FREDERICK AUGUSTUS, of Montgomery County, was born at the Trappe, that county, June 2, 1750. His father was the eminent patriarch of the Lutheran Church in America, the Rev. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, while his mother was Anna Maria Weiser, daughter of the no less celebrated Conrad Weiser. At the age of thirteen, in company with his elder brother Peter, he entered the University of Halle, Germany. He was ordained to the work of the ministry, and from 1773 to 1775 was in charge of the church at Lebanon, Pennsylvania, removing the latter year to the city of New York, where he continued until the occupation of that city by the British. He officiated at New Hanover, Montgomery County, until called into political life, as did his brother Peter when he laid aside the gown and the duties of the ministry. He was chosen to the Continental Congress in 1779, serving one term, the year following being elected to the General Assembly, and was Speaker of that body, 1781–82. He was a member of the Council of Censors, 1783–84, over which body he presided. Upon the organization of the county of Montgomery he was commissioned one of the justices of the first courts, October 4, 1784, as also register of wills and recorder of deeds, September 21, 1784. He was a delegate to the Pennsylvania Convention to ratify the Federal Constitution in 1787, being President thereof, and at the first election for members of Congress was chosen on the so-called Anti-Federal ticket, his brother, General Peter Muhlenberg, being on the Federal ticket and also elected. Of that distinguished body he was Speaker. He was chosen to the Second, Third, and Fourth Congresses. Governor McKean appointed him, January 8, 1800, receiver-general of the Pennsylvania Land Office. He died at Lancaster, the seat of State government, June 4,

1801. In 1792, when nominated for the Third Congress, the "address" contained the following: "Descended from an amiable, enlightened, and revered German clergyman, Mr. Muhlenberg was naturally regarded with a favorable eye by our fellow-citizens of that nation; and it is certainly a fortunate circumstance that the object to whom the attention of so important a part of the community was directed has proved himself capable to serve the public, and deserving of the confidence of his country. In the year 1779, when Whig principles warmed the hearts of the people and Whig politics controlled the operations of the government, he was elected a member of Congress; and at the expiration of that service he was chosen Speaker of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania. The contest by which he was placed in a situation to be Speaker of the House of Representatives in Congress will be commemorated for the honor of America as long as the Union lasts; and for Mr. Muhlenberg's honor the conduct which he observed in that arduous and important office ought never to be forgotten."

NEVILLE, JOHN, of Washington County, son of Richard Neville and Ann Burroughs, was born July 26, 1731, on the head-waters of Occoquan River, Virginia. He served with Washington in the Braddock expedition of 1755, held the office of sheriff of Frederick County, Virginia, and participated in the Dunmore expedition of 1774. Prior to this he had taken up, by purchase and entry, large tracts of land on Chartier's Creek, in Western Pennsylvania, and was elected a delegate from Augusta County to the Provincial Convention of Virginia, which body, on the 7th of August, 1775, ordered him to march with his company and take possession of Fort Pitt. On the 23d of December, 1776, he was commissioned a justice of the peace for Yohogania County, but declined the appointment owing to the boundary dispute, as well as being commandant at Fort Pitt. He was colonel of the Fourth Regiment of the Virginia Line, and one of the original members of the Virginia Society of the Cincinnati. He served as a member of the Pennsylvania Supreme Executive Council from November 11, 1783,

to November 20, 1786, and as a delegate to the Pennsylvania Convention to ratify the Federal Constitution in 1787, signing the ratification. He was elected to the General Assembly in 1788 and the year following, while under the Constitution of 1789–90 he was chosen to the House of Representatives, session of 1790–91. The latter year, at the urgent solicitation of the President and the Secretary of the Treasury, he accepted the appointment of inspector of the revenue in the Fourth Survey of the District of Pennsylvania, which he held until after the suppression of the Whiskey Insurrection and establishment of the supremacy of the laws of the United States. He was commissioned by Governor Mifflin brigade inspector, and was of great service in securing the defence of the frontiers of Western Pennsylvania. Under the act of Congress of May 18, 1796, he was appointed the agent at Pittsburgh for the sale of lands in the territory northwest of the Ohio. He died at his seat on Montour's Island (now Neville township), Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, Friday, July 29, 1803, and was buried in the First Presbyterian church-yard, Pittsburgh. An obituary of him at the time contains this reference: "The model of a perfect gentleman,—as elegant in his person and finished in his manners and education as he was generous and noble in his feelings. His house was the temple of hospitality to which all respectable strangers repaired." General Neville married Winifred Oldham, of Virginia, who died in 1797, and their children were *Presley*, who married a daughter of General Morgan; and *Amelia*, who became the wife of Major Isaac Craig, of the Revolution. (See "Pennsylvania Genealogies," pp. 478–492.)

Orth, Adam, of Dauphin County, son of Balthaser (died October, 1788) and Gertrude Catharine Orth, was born March 10, 1733, in Lebanon township, Lancaster (now Lebanon) County. His parents came to America in 1729, and he was thus brought up amid the dangers and struggles of Pennsylvania pioneer life. He received the limited education of the "back settlements," and yet, by self-culture and reading, became a man well informed and of more than

ordinary intelligence. During the French and Indian war he commanded the Lebanon township company in Rev. John Elder's ranging battalion. In 1769 he was one of the commissioners of the county of Lancaster. During the Revolution he was early identified with the movement, and, although well advanced in years, assisted in the organization of the associated battalions, and was appointed a sub-lieutenant of the county March 12, 1777. Upon the formation of the county of Dauphin, he served as a Representative in the General Assembly in 1789 and 1790. He was a delegate to the Pennsylvania Convention of 1787, but opposed the adoption of the Federal Constitution, and took an active part in the Harrisburg Conference of 1788. For a long period he operated and owned New Market Forge, which, at his death, he bequeathed to his son Henry. He was one of the pioneers in the manufacture of iron in Lebanon County, a man of energy and indomitable perseverance. He died November 15, 1794, and is buried in Hebron Moravian graveyard, near Lebanon. Colonel Orth married, May 24, 1757 (by Rev. George Neisser), Catharine Kucher (born January 12, 1738, died September 17, 1794), daughter of John Peter and Barbara Kucher, of Lebanon township, Lancaster County.

PEDAN, BENJAMIN, of York County, son of John Pedan, was born about 1740. His father in 1733 settled in Hempfield township, Lancaster County, along Big Chickies Creek, half a mile below where the Pennsylvania Railroad crosses. It is not known when the son removed west of the Susquehanna and took up his residence in what is now Lower Chanceford township, York County. When the struggle for independence came on he took an active part, and was on the Committee of Observation for the county. When supplies were asked for the people of Boston, personally and unaided he secured grain and flour, which he took to Baltimore for shipment. He was appointed by the Constitutional Convention of 1776 one of the Board of Commissioners for York County, and on June 10, 1777, commissioned a justice of the peace. He was a delegate

to the Pennsylvania Convention to ratify the Federal Constitution in 1787, which he signed, although he eventually became a prominent Anti-Federalist. He was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1789–90, and represented his county in the Legislature of the State, session of 1805–6. He died at his residence in Lower Chanceford township, York County, in October, 1813. He left descendants. By marriage he was related to the McCalls, of McCall's Ferry.

PICKERING, TIMOTHY, of Luzerne County, son of Deacon Timothy Pickering, was born at Salem, Massachusetts, on the 17th of July, 1745. He graduated at Harvard University in 1763, studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1768. At the outset of the Revolution he was on the Committee of Correspondence, and was the author of the address of the people of Salem to the British general, Gage, on the occasion of the Boston Port Bill. He first opposed an armed resistance to the British troops, when, on the 26th of February, 1775, he, while a colonel of militia, prevented their crossing at a drawbridge to seize some military stores. In the fall of 1776 he joined Washington's army in the Jerseys, was subsequently (1777) made his adjutant-general, and present at the battles of Brandywine and Germantown. On the 5th of August, 1780, he succeeded General Greene as quartermaster-general. He was a member of the Pennsylvania Society of the Cincinnati. After the war he took up his residence in Philadelphia, and in 1786 was sent by the government to assist in adjusting the claims of the Connecticut settlers in Wyoming. For an account of his adventures in that section, see "Hazard's Register," Vol. VII. In 1787 he represented the county of Luzerne in the Pennsylvania Convention to ratify the Federal Constitution, but did not sign the ratification. At that period he held the offices of prothonotary, clerk of the courts, etc., for that county, and was subsequently a member of the Pennsylvania Convention of 1789–90. He opposed Governor Mifflin's election to the gubernatorial office, but, nevertheless, continued to hold his positions under him. President Washington appointed

him Postmaster-General, November 7, 1791, which he held until the 2d of January, 1795; filled the office of Secretary of State from December 10, 1795, to the 12th of May, 1800. Leaving office poor, he settled on a tract of land he possessed in Pennsylvania. He returned to Salem, Massachusetts, the year following, afterwards filling the various offices of judge of the courts, United States Senator, 1803–11, member of the Massachusetts Board of War, 1812–14, and member of Congress, 1815–17. He wrote quite a number of political pamphlets during his brilliant political career, and was one of the leaders of the Federal party. He died at Salem, Massachusetts, on the 29th of January, 1829. To sum up briefly his character, "he was a talented writer, a brave and patriotic soldier, and a disinterested, able, and energetic public officer. Plain and unassuming in manner, he excelled in conversation."

POWELL, JOSEPH, of Bedford County, born about 1750, in Bethlehem township, Northampton County, Pennsylvania, son of Joseph Powell, a Moravian clergyman from White Church, Shropshire, England. He studied for the ministry, was settled in Bedford County, and during the Revolutionary period became quite prominent in political affairs. (See PA. MAG., Vol. IV. p. 227.) He was a member of the Pennsylvania Convention to ratify the Federal Constitution in 1787, but united with his colleagues in opposing the ratification. As stated in the sketch referred to, he was a member of the State Constitutional Convention of 1776, and also of 1789–90. He died in November, 1804, in Bedford County.

REYNOLDS, JOHN, of Cumberland County, was born in 1749, near Shippensburg, that county. His father, John Reynolds, came from the north of Ireland and settled in the valley at an early period. Although there were three John Reynolds' in that settlement during the Revolutionary period, the subject of our sketch appears to have been the more prominent one, "Justice Rannels," as he is generally noted. He was commissioned a justice of the peace prior to the Revolution, and during the struggle for independence was

an active partisan. He was continued in commission of the peace by the Supreme Executive Council, June 9, 1777, and by virtue of seniority became one of the judges of the Court of Common Pleas. He was a member of the Pennsylvania Convention to ratify the Federal Constitution in 1787, but voted against the ratification. He was an elder, as also was his father, of Middle Spring Presbyterian Church, in which graveyard rest his remains, having deceased on the 20th of October, 1789, aged forty years. Few men in the valley left a better record of a worthy and honorable life than "Justice Rannels." His son, Benjamin Reynolds, was a man of ability and influence in the county.

RICHARDS, JOHN, of Montgomery County, son of Matthias and Margaret (Hillegas) Richards, was born April 17, 1753, in now New Hanover township, that county. His grandfather, John Frederick Richards, came from Würtemberg, Germany, to Pennsylvania prior to 1720, his warrant for a tract of land bearing that date. He died in 1748, and his son John in March, 1775, at the age of fifty-six years. The life of the subject of this sketch was an eventful and busy one,—with a fine estate, he was a progressive farmer, storekeeper, and iron-master. Having been appointed one of the justices of the peace for Philadelphia County, June 6, 1777, he was continued in commission, and upon the organization of the county of Montgomery, became one of the judges of the Court of Common Pleas, November 1, 1784. He was elected to the Fourth Congress, 1796–97, and from 1801 to 1807 served in the State Senate. He died November 13, 1822, at the age of sixty-nine years. He was a man of influence in the county, a faithful official, and an enterprising citizen. Mr. Richards was twice married: first, on May 2, 1775, to Sophia Heebner, who died November 19, 1800, and the mother of all his children. His second wife was Mrs. Catharine Krebs, who deceased prior to him. Mr. Richards's children, save those who died young, were *Matthias*, d. 1813; *John; Elizabeth; Maria; Marcus; Mark*, a merchant in Philadelphia and an iron-master in New Jersey, dying in 1843; *George*, b. June 17, 1783, d. August 19, 1873,

was a soldier of the war of 1812, an iron-master, and elected State Senator in 1848, and father of Mark H. Richards, of Pottstown; *Anna*, m. Henry Kerr; and *Elizabeth*, m. Henry Groff.

ROBERTS, JONATHAN, of Montgomery County, eldest son of Matthew Roberts and Sarah Walter, was born in 1731. His grandfather, John Roberts, a native of Pennychland, Denbighshire, North Wales, came to America about the year 1682, and settled in Lower Merion, now Montgomery County. Jonathan was brought up as a farmer. From 1771 to 1775 he served in the Provincial Assembly. When the Revolutionary struggle came on, belonging to the Society of Friends, he took the position of "a non-militant Whig,"—that is, he aided the patriot cause secretly, but did not bear arms. At the close of the struggle, when measures were taken to divide the county of Philadelphia, he became quite prominent in the formation of the county of Montgomery in 1784. He was one of the commissioners named in the act, and chiefly through his efforts was the county-seat located at Norristown. This injured him more or less politically, but he was a man always above reproach, and the bitterness of feeling soon subsided. He was elected a delegate to the Pennsylvania Convention to ratify the Federal Constitution in 1787, and gave his vote for ratification, although he thought the outlines of that instrument were perhaps a too faithful copy of the British theory of government. From 1788 to 1790 he served in the General Assembly, and was a member of the House of Representatives, sessions of 1790–91 and 1799–1800. Mr. Roberts died in 1812, at the age of eighty-two years. "His conversational powers," wrote his son Jonathan years after his death, "were ready, seasoned with judgment and sound reflection. I have often felt admiration, when of mature age, at the justness of his views and the weight of his reasoning. To the close of his life I could discover in him no decay of mind. He was always a great reader and delighted in books." He married, in 1760, Anna Thomas, who died in 1803. Their children were *Sarah*, m. Rees

Moore; *Mary; Matthew; Jonathan; Anna;* and *John.* The son Jonathan, who succeeded his father in the Legislature and represented his State as a Senator in Congress, married Eliza Hite Bushby, of Virginia, whose eldest son, William Bushby Roberts, recently deceased, also represented his county in the General Assembly of the State.

RUSH, BENJAMIN, of the city of Philadelphia, was born December 24, 1745, in Byberry township, county of Philadelphia. He was educated at the College of New Jersey, from whence he graduated in 1760. He studied medicine under Dr. John Redman, a famous physician in his day, went to Edinburgh, and graduated from the university there as Doctor of Medicine in 1768. Passing some time in the London hospitals, he returned to Pennsylvania, and in 1769 was elected professor of Chemistry in the College of Philadelphia. He was in the successful practice of his profession when the war of the Revolution commenced. His native State establishing a navy for the protection of the Delaware, he was commissioned, September 27, 1775, fleet-surgeon thereof, only resigning, July, 1776, when he was elected by the General Assembly to the Continental Congress. He was one of the after-signers of the Declaration of Independence. He was on the commission to establish and superintend a saltpetre-factory in Philadelphia in 1775, and was a member of the Provincial Conference held at Carpenters' Hall, June 18, 1776. In 1777 he was appointed physician-general to the hospital of the Middle Department, and served with great usefulness. In 1779 he assisted in organizing the Republican Society, which had for its object the revision of the Pennsylvania Constitution of 1776. Towards the close of the war he was active in the cause for the abolition of slavery, and for a long time was secretary of the Pennsylvania Society. He was an intimate friend of the author of "Common Sense," and a pamphleteer of considerable prominence. In 1787 he was elected a delegate to the Pennsylvania Convention to ratify the Federal Constitution, of which he was an earnest advocate. On the death of Dr. John Morgan, in 1789, he succeeded to the

chair of the Theory and Practice of Medicine, and when, in 1791, the College of Philadelphia was transformed into the University of Pennsylvania, he became professor of the Institutes and Practice of Medicine and Clinical Practice, afterwards that of the Practice of Physic being added. Until the end of his life he filled these positions with distinguished ability. From 1790 to 1795 he was resident port-physician of the city of Philadelphia; was cashier of the United States Mint; and, upon the incorporation of Dickinson College, Carlisle, one of its original trustees. During the yellow-fever epidemic in Philadelphia in 1793 he remained at his post and battled with the fearful scourge, saying to those who counselled him to regard his personal safety, "I will remain if I remain alive." He died in Philadelphia, April 19, 1813, leaving a reputation in his professional life only equalled by his sterling patriotism and his great philanthropy.

Scott, Thomas, of Washington County, was born February 28, 1739, in Donegal township, Lancaster County. In 1770 he removed with his family to Western Pennsylvania, and settled on Dunlap's Creek, near the Monongahela. Shortly after the erection of Westmoreland County, January 11, 1774, he was appointed a justice of the peace, and in that capacity was a warm and able supporter of the Pennsylvania jurisdiction, and drew on himself the particular resentment of the partisans of Virginia. When this contest sunk in the great cause of the Revolution, he was elected, in 1776, to the first Assembly under the Constitution of the State passed that year. He was a member of the Council of Safety from Westmoreland County in 1777, and elected to the Supreme Executive Council, in which body he served three years. When the county of Washington was organized in 1781, he was appointed prothonotary April 2, 1781, serving until March 28, 1789. He was a delegate to the Pennsylvania Convention to ratify the Federal Constitution in 1787, and in 1788 elected a member of the First Congress under that instrument, which he so zealously supported against the protests of his constituents and

the contrary action of his colleagues. As the change of the Constitution of Pennsylvania occasioned a new appointment of State officers in 1791, he declined being considered as a candidate for a seat in the Second Congress, with a view to retain his office as clerk of the courts in Washington County. Governor Mifflin thought proper to supersede him. At the election, however, a few weeks after, he was chosen a member of the Assembly, and in 1792 a member of the Third Congress. With only such opportunities of study as his residence in Philadelphia while in Council afforded him, and unaided by a liberal or professional education, he was admitted to the Washington County bar at the September term, 1791, afterwards to other of the western counties, and was a successful advocate. And it may be here stated that his arguments were natural and judicious, his language nervous, and his elocution remarkably emphatic. Mr. Scott died at his residence in the town of Washington, whither he removed upon the organization of the county, on Wednesday, March 2, 1796, a few days after he had completed his fifty-seventh year. This estimate of his character is given by a contemporary: "His mental faculties were strong and decisive; his disposition open, generous, and friendly; his manners kindly and sociable; and with an extent of knowledge, and with that correctness of mind which hardly anything but education can give, he would have been every way a great man."

SLAGLE, HENRY, of York County, son of Christopher Slagle, an emigrant from Saxony, was born in 1735 in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. (See PENNA. MAG., Vol. IV. p. 361, for further references.) He was a delegate to the Pennsylvania Convention to ratify the Federal Constitution in 1787, and a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1789–90. He served as one of the original trustees of Dickinson College, and was a zealous supporter of the system of public education, which he did not live to see adopted. He died at his residence in Adams County.

SMILIE, JOHN, of Fayette County, son of Thomas Smilie, was born September 16, 1742, in County Down, Ireland.

His father came to Pennsylvania at an early period and settled in Lancaster County. The son early espoused the patriot cause, and at once took sides, being a member of the County Committee, of the Provincial Conference held at Carpenters' Hall June 18, 1775, and of that of June 18, 1776. In the latter year and that of 1777 he served as a private in the Associators, and continued in that situation during the most critical periods of the war. In 1778, and again in 1779, he was elected to the General Assembly from Lancaster County, and became an ardent promoter of the act of 1780, providing for the gradual abolition of slavery in Pennsylvania. In 1781 he removed with his family to then Westmoreland County, and was chosen a member of the Council of Censors, 1783–84, from that county. When the county of Fayette was organized in 1784, he was chosen its first Representative in the General Assembly, re-elected in 1785, and served in the Supreme Executive Council from November 2, 1786, to November 19, 1789. He was a delegate to the Pennsylvania Convention to ratify the Federal Constitution in 1787,—opposed the ratification; and was one of the Anti-Constitutional party who were mobbed in Philadelphia on the evening of 6th of November, that year. With Gallatin he represented Fayette in the State Constitutional Convention of 1789–90. In 1790 he was elected to the State Senate, but in 1792, having been elected to the Third Congress, he resigned the last year of his senatorial term. He was sent to the Pennsylvania House of Representatives in 1795, '96, and '97, and was a Presidential elector in 1796. In 1798 he was again chosen to Congress, the Sixth, and re-elected to the succeeding Congresses up to and including the Thirteenth. He died at the city of Washington on the 29th of December, 1813, aged seventy-one years, and was interred in the Congressional burying-ground. From "the address" of 1792 we have this estimate of his character: "View him in private life, he is artless, friendly, and industrious; view him in public life, he is vigilant, firm, and sagacious. To the insolence of authority and the encroachments of power he has offered an opposition uniform and

successful. The Proprietary thraldom, with its feudal badge of quit-rents and tenures, he lent an active arm to overthrow; while he joined his fellow-citizens to encounter the monarchical outrages of Great Britain, with courage in the field and wisdom in the cabinet. . . . He was deputed to represent the county of Lancaster, first as a member of the Committee of Conference, and afterwards as a member of the General Assembly. When he removed from Lancaster to Westmoreland, carrying with him the same virtues, he obtained the same popularity; and was likewise repeatedly chosen a Representative from the latter county, and since his residence in Fayette, we find him upon every occasion the choice of his neighbors as the trustee of their civil rights or the agent in their personal transactions." At his death, it was said, "His honest and ardent zeal and promptitude in advocating what he believed to be for the public good has been long known and acknowledged by all political parties. In private life, as a citizen and neighbor, his character was wholly unimpeachable." Mr. Similie married Jennett Porter, daughter of Colonel Thomas Porter, of Drumore township, Lancaster County, and left several children.

STOUT, ABRAHAM, of Bucks County, was born in Rockhill township, Bucks County, in 1740. His father, Jacob Stout, in 1735 came from Germany and purchased a tract of land in the Proprietaries' manor of Perkasie, now covering the village of Perkasie. The son seems to have been an influential farmer; was chosen a delegate to the Pennsylvania Convention to ratify the Federal Constitution in 1787, and also a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1789–90. He held the office of justice of the peace from August 27, 1791, to January 20, 1795. He died in June, 1812, and is buried—as is also his father, who died in 1771—in the Stout graveyard, on the southwest end of Perkasie. He left a wife and children: *Abraham*, *Henry K.*, *Jacob*, *Hannah*, *Magdalena*, *Anne*, and *Margaret*.

TODD, WILLIAM, of Westmoreland County, was born about 1739, at the Trappe (now Montgomery County), Pennsylvania. His father was Robert Todd, a native of County

Down, Ireland, who came to Pennsylvania in 1737 and located in then Philadelphia County, where he died in 1775. He was the ancestor of the Todd family of Kentucky, from whom descended the wife of President Lincoln. William Todd went to Western Pennsylvania about 1765, locating at first within the limits of Bedford County. He was a man of more than ordinary prominence, was appointed by the Provincial Conference held at Carpenters' Hall, Philadelphia, in June, 1776, one of the judges of the election in the western part of Bedford County for members of the first Constitutional Convention, by which latter body he was appointed one of the commissioners of that county, and also a justice of the peace. Shortly after he removed to Westmoreland County, where he settled upon land subsequently warranted to him, located "on both sides of the road leading from Cherry's Mill to Bud's Ferry, on Youghiogheny River, Mount Pleasant township." He served in the General Assembly from 1783 to 1789, and opposed the calling of the convention of 1789–90. He was chosen a delegate to the Pennsylvania Convention of 1787, voting against its ratification; and was also a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1789–90. He was an associate judge from August 17, 1791, to December 3, 1794, when he resigned to take his seat in the State Senate, serving one term, 1794 to 1796. He died in October, 1810, leaving a wife, Ann, and a number of children, some of whose descendants yet reside in the county of Westmoreland. From an inventory of his personal estate, we judge him to have been a gentleman of education and refinement.

WAYNE, ANTHONY, of Chester County, son of Isaac Wayne, was born January 1, 1745, in that county. His grandfather, Anthony Wayne, who commanded a squadron of dragoons at the battle of the Boyne, came to Pennsylvania in 1722. The father was prominent in local affairs, and was a member of the Provincial Assembly, 1757 to 1764. The son was a farmer and surveyor. In 1774 he was chosen to the General Assembly, was a deputy to the Provincial Conference of July 15, 1774, and a delegate to the Provincial Conven-

tion, January 23, 1775. He was on the Committee of Safety from June 30, 1775, resigning when he was commissioned colonel of the Fourth Battalion of the Pennsylvania Line, January 3, 1776. He was in the Canada campaign of that year,. and wounded at Three Rivers. On the 23d of November, General Schuyler assigned him to the command of the fortress of Ticonderoga and garrison, composed of Wood's, Dayton's, Irvine's, Russell's, Whitcomb's, and his own battalion. He was promoted brigadier-general February 21, 1777. In May following, at his own earnest solicitation, he was called to the main army, where he arrived on the 15th of that month, and was placed in command of a brigade. He was with Washington at the battle of Brandywine, September 11, 1777, and held his ground against Knyphausen until the right of the American army was turned. He was surprised at the Paoli on the night of the 20th of September, and demanding a court of inquiry, was honorably acquitted. He was wounded at Germantown, and greatly distinguished himself at Monmouth. For his conduct at the storming of Stony Point, one of the most gallant achievements of the struggle for independence, on the night of July 15, 1779, Congress gave him a vote of thanks and a gold medal. His conduct during the revolt of the Pennsylvania Line, and his subsequent brilliant career in the South until the close of the Revolution, render the name of Wayne illustrious. Returning home, the well-scarred veteran was the recipient of many honors. Chester County elected him a member of the Council of Censors, 1783–84, and from 1784 to 1786 he represented her in the General Assembly of the State. He was a delegate to the Pennsylvania Convention to ratify the Federal Constitution of 1787, and espoused the cause of its adoption. The defeat of St. Clair on the Maumee, in November, 1791, required a change of commanders, and the eyes and hopes of the people were turned to the discreet and cautious Wayne. He was appointed by President Washington, April 3, 1792, general-in-chief of the army, and on the 20th of August following, by the admirable discipline, courage, and bravery of his troops,

he gained the battle of "Fallen Timbers," and dictated terms to the savages at Greenville. On the 14th of December, 1796, General Wayne suddenly closed his military career at Presqu' Isle, and was buried on the shores of Lake Erie. His remains were removed to Chester County in 1809, and in 1811 the Society of the Cincinnati, of which he was an original member, erected over them a plain, substantial monument. General Wayne married and left issue. His son, Isaac Wayne, was member of Congress, 1823–25. Captain William Wayne, who recently represented Chester County in the Legislature, 1883–85, and who resides on the Wayne homestead, is a great-grandson.

WHITEHILL, JOHN, of Lancaster County, was born December 1, 1729, in Salisbury township, that county. His father, James Whitehill, a native of the north of Ireland, settled on Pequea Creek in 1723. John received a good education. He was an ardent patriot, and came into prominence at the beginning of the Revolution. The Supreme Executive Council appointed him, March 31, 1777, one of the justices of the Common Pleas for Lancaster, and in the years 1778 to 1782 he represented the county in the General Assembly. He served as a member of the Council of Censors, 1783–84, and was a delegate to the Pennsylvania Convention to ratify the Federal Constitution of 1787, but did not sign the ratification. From December 22, 1784, to December 16, 1787, he was a member of the Supreme Executive Council. Under the Constitution of 1790 he was appointed by Governor Mifflin an associate judge of the county of Lancaster, August 17, 1791. He was a Presidential elector in 1796, and elected to the Eighth and Ninth Congresses, serving with distinguished ability. A rigid Presbyterian, he was a trustee and elder of the church at Pequea. He died at his residence, Salisbury, in 1815. He left a large landed estate. Brought to the front by the Revolutionary war, he proved to be, like his compeers, a person of indomitable courage and vigor of intellect, and was ever tenacious of republican principles. He belonged to the Jeffersonian school of statesmen. Mr. Whitehill married, August 13, 1755, Nancy San-

derson, and they had a family of eight children, intermarried into the Atlee, Bickham, Armor, and Bolden families.

WHITEHILL, ROBERT, of Cumberland County, was born July 24, 1735, in Salisbury township, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. He was the son of James Whitehill and his wife, Rachel Cresswell, and younger brother of the subject of the preceding sketch. (See PENNA. MAG., Vol. IV. p. 371, for notice.) From 1774 to the period of his death he filled almost every position in the gift of the people. His entire public life was a successful and brilliant one. In the Pennsylvania Convention to ratify the Federal Constitution of 1787 he was one of the leaders in opposing the ratification, and it is to be regretted that his remarks were not fully reported. He died at his residence in Cumberland County, two miles west of the Susquehanna, on the 7th of April, 1813, while a member of Congress.

WILSON, JAMES, of the city of Philadelphia, was born September 14, 1742, in the Lowlands, near St. Andrew's, Scotland. His studies were pursued at Glasgow, St. Andrew's, and Edinburgh, emigrating to Pennsylvania in 1766, where he became a tutor in the College of Philadelphia. He at once began the study of the law with John Dickinson, one of the ablest legal minds in America, and was admitted to the bar November, 1767. He shortly after took up his residence at Carlisle, where he was in the enjoyment of a good practice when the war of the Revolution began. He early espoused the patriot cause, and was chosen a delegate from Cumberland County to the Provincial Convention held at Philadelphia, January 23, 1775. On May 6, 1775, the Assembly elected him one of the deputies to the Continental Congress, and on the 10th he took his seat in that body. He was re-elected by the Assembly, November 4, 1775, and voted for the Declaration of Independence, to which he had the honor of affixing his signature. The State Constitutional Convention, on July 20, 1776, chose him to the same position, and on March 10, 1777, he was elected by the Assembly. In 1782–83, and again in 1785–86, he served in that body. On May 23, 1782, he was appointed brigadier-gen-

eral of the Pennsylvania militia. During the closing years of the Revolution he acted as the advocate-general of France in America, and for this service was handsomely rewarded by that government. In 1779 he was one of the active members of the Republican society formed for the purpose of urging the revision of the State Constitution of 1776. He was appointed by the Supreme Executive Council and the Assembly, February 14, 1784, one of the counsellors on the cause between Pennsylvania and Connecticut, a case which he conducted with great legal ability. He was a member of the Convention which framed the Federal Constitution of 1787, and also of the Pennsylvania Convention called to ratify that instrument, being its foremost defender. It may with truth be said that to him is due the honor of its ratification by that body. President Washington appointed him, in September, 1789, a judge of the United States Supreme Court. He was also a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1789–90. In addition to these duties he accepted the appointment in 1790 of law professor in the University of Pennsylvania. His course of lectures are published in his works, edited by his son. In 1792 he published, in connection with Chief Justice McKean, of Pennsylvania, "Commentaries on the United States Constitution." During the Revolutionary period he published several pamphlets relating to the contest with the mother-country. Judge Wilson died at Edenton, North Carolina, August 28, 1798, while on his judicial circuit, and was there buried. He was a profound thinker, and thoroughly learned in the law. His scientific attainments were of a high order, and the degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred upon him. Graydon, in his "Memoirs," says of Wilson, referring to the Pennsylvania Convention: "He never failed to throw the strongest lights on his subject, and thence rather to flash than elicit conviction, syllogistically. . . . He produced greater orations than any other man I have heard; and I doubt much whether the ablest of those who sneer at his occasional simplicities and 'brilliant conceits' would not have found him a truly formidable antagonist." Mr. Wil-

son was twice married: first, to Rachel Bird, daughter of William Bird, of Berks County, having six children; secondly, to Hannah Gray, daughter of Ellis Gray, of Boston. His son, Bird Wilson, published in 1804 his works in three octavo volumes, but, strange to say, without prefixing a full memoir of that brilliant Pennsylvania statesman.

WILSON, WILLIAM, of Northumberland County, emigrated from the north of Ireland when quite young. Upon the breaking out of the Revolution he was commissioned ensign of Captain John Lowdon's company, Colonel William Thompson's battalion, June 25, 1775, and marched to Cambridge, Massachusetts. He was promoted second lieutenant January 4, 1776. His regiment re-enlisting for the war, under General Edward Hand, became the First Pennsylvania Regiment of the Continental Line. He was promoted first lieutenant September 25, 1776, and to captain March 2, 1777. His regiment, in Wayne's division, took a very prominent part in the action at Monmouth, June 22, 1778, where the Royal Grenadiers under Colonel Monckton undertook to break the centre occupied by Wayne and the Pennsylvania Line. Colonel Monckton was killed, and in a hand-to-hand fight over the colors of the Grenadiers they were secured by Captain Wilson, and are in possession of his descendants at Bellefonte. He was mustered out November 3, 1783, and settled in the mercantile business in Northumberland, Pennsylvania. On the death of Colonel Samuel Hunter, he succeeded him as county lieutenant, commission dating May 20, 1784. In the fall of 1787, Colonel Wilson and his partner in business, Captain John Boyd, were elected delegates to the Pennsylvania Convention to ratify the Federal Constitution. There were parties in politics even at that time, and the ruling party in Northumberland County was opposed to the proposed Constitution; but the old officers of the army rallied to its support, and selected two of their own number for delegates. In 1789 he became a member of the Supreme Executive Council, serving one year. In connection with his partner, Captain Boyd, he built Chillisquaque Mills, at the mouth of that creek, four miles above

Northumberland. He was appointed an associate judge January 13, 1792. In September, 1794, he took a prominent part in favor of the government in suppressing liberty-poles and demonstrations on the part of those who sympathized in the Whiskey Insurrection. In 1798, when war was threatened with the French Directory and a Provisional army was authorized, Washington selected Colonel Wilson for one of his division commanders. Happily, there was no necessity to bring that army into the field. He died in 1813. His residence at Chillisquaque was the seat of profuse hospitality. General Wilson married Mary Scott, daughter of Captain Abraham Scott, of Lancaster County, who died in 1836, and with her distinguished husband was interred in the Presbyterian graveyard at Northumberland. His oldest son, Samuel Hunter Wilson, born at Chillisquaque, March 29, 1793, succeeded him in the Society of the Cincinnati, of which he was an original member, and he in turn was succeeded by Colonel Philip Benner Wilson. The latter died while associate judge of Centre County, July 22, 1841. Mrs. John Blair Linn, the only survivor of the family of Judge S. Hunter Wilson, has in her possession a good oil painting of General William Wilson, always reputed an excellent likeness. One of the general's daughters married General James Potter (3d), and left descendants residing in Bellefonte. Judge Abraham S. Wilson, president judge of the Twentieth Judicial District, March 30, 1842, to 1861, who died December 18, 1864, aged sixty-four, was the youngest child of General Wilson. Of the latter's family only a daughter survives,—Mrs. Frank Ballou, of Leadville, Colorado.

Wynkoop, Henry, of Bucks County, son of Nicholas Wynkoop, was born in Northampton township, that county, March 2, 1737. His great-grandfather, Gerardus Wynkoop, settled in Moreland township, then Philadelphia County, in 1717. Henry Wynkoop, who received a collegiate education, came into active prominence at the outset of the Revolutionary struggle. He was on the county Committee of Observation in 1774, a deputy to the Provincial Conference

of July 15, that year, and a member of the Provincial Conference which met at Carpenters' Hall on the 18th of June, 1775. He was chosen major of one of the Associated battalions, and was an efficient officer. He was on the General Committee of Safety from July, 1776, to July, 1777. The General Assembly appointed him one of the commissioners to settle the accounts of county lieutenants, December 4, 1778, and on March 3, 1779, when Edward Biddle resigned his seat in Congress, Major Wynkoop was chosen by that body to fill the position, being re-elected November 24, 1780, and November 22, 1781. He was commissioned one of the justices of the Court of Common Pleas and Orphans' Court November 18, 1780, but resigned June 27, 1789, having been elected to the First Congress, 1789–91. On the expiration of his Congressional term he was appointed by Governor Mifflin an associate judge of Bucks County, August 17, 1791, filling that honorable station until his death, October 24, 1812. He married Ann Knipers, of Bergen County, New Jersey, and their children were *Christina*, m. Dr. Reading Beatty, of Newtown; *Ann*, m. James Raguet; *Margaretta*, m. Herman J. Lambaert; *Nicholas*, m. Fanny, daughter of Francis Murray, of Newtown. Of Major Wynkoop's descendants, Francis M. Wynkoop distinguished himself in the Mexican war as colonel of the First Pennsylvania Regiment; and George C. Wynkoop was a brigadier-general in the three months' service in the civil war, and afterwards commanded the Seventh Regiment of Pennsylvania Cavalry.

Yardley, Thomas, of Bucks County, was a native of Lower Makefield township, that county. He was descended from William Yardley (1632–93) and his wife Jane, of Bansclough, near Leek, in Staffordshire, England, who, with their children, Thomas and William, arrived at the Falls September 28, 1682, and settled in Lower Makefield township, taking up a large tract of land, covering the site of Yardleyville. As to the subject of this sketch it has been impossible to secure any information, although what is desired is in existence. He was a man of means and influence. In 1780 he appears to have been the owner of nine

slaves. He was a delegate to the Pennsylvania Convention to ratify the Federal Constitution of 1787, and voted for the ratification. Governor Mifflin appointed him a justice of the peace August 27, 1791, which office he held until February 21, 1794, which, we presume, was the date of his death. At his decease he left a lot for school purposes on what is now Oak Grove school-house.

[NOTE.—John Baird (Vol. X. p. 450) died in Unity township, Westmoreland County, in April, 1805, his wife Hannah surviving him. He left no children, but devised his estate to his nephews and nieces.]

PHILADELPHIA SOCIETY BEFORE THE REVOLUTION.

Extracts from Letters of Alexander Mackraby to Sir Philip Francis.

Philadelphia 8th Oct [1767]

Thank God, I am safely arrived here, and in good health, tho' not so soon as we expected. We landed forty miles below this city, at a town called Newcastle, where we swallowed cream and bread-and-butter and new-laid eggs like so many devils.

Governor Hamilton is not yet arrived, but expected every hour. A ship arrived here yesterday which sailed from the Downs at the same time with him. The people here have got it in their heads that he brings a woman with him—not a wife—and that she is to preside at his table, and a deal of nonsense; they are dragons for politicks and scandal.

We hear Sir Harry Moore is superseded in his government of New York, and is going home; that a colonial clerk is appointed in his room; that Lord Holland is now the leading man in the ministry, and granting lands in America like dirt. I wish he would give you a grant when he hand is in. 'Tis the only country in the world to wish for possessions in, to my mind.

Mr. Neave has taken a house here—a very pleasant one, with a great many pine trees hanging over it, a little garden, and good stabling. We breakfast comfortably, and always dine with somebody or other. They drink too much, but everything is extremely good.

We have races here next week, and a review, and plays. This is the busiest season in Philadelphia—the election, and annual meeting of the Quakers; a very full town.

BRISTOL: 20th January 1768.

MY DEAR PHILIP,—I am at an inn, where I put up on my return from a visit to Mr Franklyn, governor of the province of Jersey, to whom I was introduced yesterday. He is a son of Dr Franklin's of Philadelphia, whom all the world knows. He is a very sensible, agreeable man, and behaved with the utmost politeness to us; entertained at his house till this day. I could hardly find myself out this morning in a most elegant crimson silk damask bed.

I am informed there are three new governments forming upon the frontiers. When they take place I wish they may not meet with interruption from the Indians, who begin to be very unquiet. I think I mentioned in my last some encroachments made upon their hunting grounds by white people, which they complain highly of. We have fresh accounts every day of murders among them. The assembled governors and commander-in-chief are all anxious to put a stop to these irregularities, which if not soon done great confusion is apprehended.

If any one would tempt me with a very advantageous proposal, I should made little objection to settling upon the Ohio. You would really be amazed at the rapturous terms in which those who have been some hundred miles to the westward of this, speak of the country. As they advance inland the climate becomes more temperate and settled, the soil rich and fertile, producing spontaneously many useful herbs, plants and fruits, in many spots fine extensive tracts of open champain country, not loaded with useless woods as every part near the coast is—extremely troublesome and expensive to clear.

It is almost a proverb in this neighborhood that "Every great fortune made here within these 50 years has been by land." I walked over the Delaware this morning, where it is more than a mile broad, upon the ice; carriages loaded at the same time passing to and fro. The amusement among the ladies of all ranks and ages is riding upon the snow in sleighs, a kind of open coach upon a sledge drawn by a pair

of horses. They make parties out of town in them, and drive at a prodigious rate. 'Tis pleasant enough.

You must have read of the vast variety of religions and different persuasions in practice in this country. I heard the other day of a new sect, who call themselves Rogerines, from their principal, whose name is Roger. They run about stark naked, men and women, and profess to live in the state of primitive innocence. In this country they go into churches and other religious meetings, where they dance about in an extraordinary manner, Billy to Betty, and cry out constantly, "Who can do as we do, and yet be pure and undefiled?" This is a fact; but pray do not read it to any women.

PHILADELPHIA 18th February 1768.

DEAR BROTHER—You say "You long prodigiously to hear how I play the devil in Philadelphia." I wish Mr. Neave, when he returns from New York, may not think I have been playing the devil, for in the three months he has been absent I have made about three times as many acquaintance as he has done in so many years. I dine with governors, colonels, and the Lord knows who. I have seen Governor Hamilton three or four times, and have dined with him twice. He does not live in town, but at a noble seat about a mile and a half from the city. I find very agreeable society in an acquaintance with some nephews of his. I have, I think, mentioned more than once the pleasure I received thro' your connection, and the civilities shewn me. A cousin of yours, who is to be married here next week to one of the sons of the Chief Justice of the Province, is a charming woman, tho' not in my opinion so amiable as another prêtty cousin of yours whom I hope to dance with at the Assembly to-morrow.

I am very much obliged by that letter Mr. Doyly had the goodness to procure from Sir J. Amherst to Genl. Gage. I shall most certainly deliver it when I go to New York. You know his rank is very high in America, and all strangers wait on him.

Here is arrived a young Scotch gentleman, Lord Rose-

hill, son of Lord Northesk; he is under age, and married without his father's consent, who sends him hither on a very small allowance to repent at his leisure. He was an ensign in the 25th Regiment; most people wait on him.

PHILADELPHIA: 5th March 1768.

DEAR BROTHER,—I received with great pleasure your paquet of 5th and 12th December, forwarded from New York by Capt. Maturin, thro' the channel of Col. Wilkins of the Royal Irish, now here. It is possible Capt. Maturin may have mentioned me in his letter to Col. Wilkins, who is always very civil to me. I knew him a little before. There never were such a set of topers as the officers of his regiment. The mess-rooms at the barracks are something like Circe's cave, out of which no man ever returned upon two pegs.

I have mentioned before how very agreeable the reception I have met with from your cousins here, more particularly so, as it has introduced me to that kind of acquaintance which is the most difficult for a stranger to obtain; but which is at the same time absolutely necessary to his comfort, where there are no public places of diversions; I mean that of a few agreeable families for a dish of tea, and a dish of chat, without ceremony. I have also young men enough of my acquaintance. Taverns and coffee-houses are not so much frequented here as they are at London. I have one weekly club at a tavern, almost the only occasion on which I enter one. My expences are by these means moderate enough. I keep a good horse at a small charge, and have some very agreeable riding companions. With all these advantages you will pronounce me a happy fellow.

I observe from your letters and others the Boston combinations, and the reception with which their resolutions met with in London. I very sincerely believe that the province which I have hitherto been in, is the most moderate of any in its conduct with regard to the mother country; but they have all too violent principles of independence. When I except the conduct of this province, I mean only in what

relates to England; for in its intestine divisions it is as eminent as any of them. I will look out for a conveyance, and send you an address or two of the House of Assembly, to the Governor, with the answers. The people, growing rich and powerful, feel themselves uneasy under the weak reins of a proprietary government, as they express it, and want to be under the more immediate protection of the Crown. Is not this a second part to the frogs in the fable?

You must have heard of the application made at home by General Gage and Sir Henry Moore, about precedence at New York. I don't mean upon their own accounts, as that, I believe, is a determined point; but with respect to their ladies, who cannot agree which shall stand first couple in a country dance. To such lengths have their disputes been carried, that this winter there has not been any assemblies at all in New York. But unluckily two private balls have been given, at the first of which there were high words, and Lady Moore retired in a rage. At the other, which happened very lately, that lady, calling for Sir Henry's support, involved him in a quarrel with an officer who presided, which has at last produced a formal challenge from the General to the Governor, who they say has prudently made the reply gracious, instead of the retort valiant.

I am very sorry to hear of the attack your father has had of the palsey. You tell me he is pretty well recovered. I hope he may not have another stroke. 'Tis a shocking disorder. I think from its tedious and melancholy effects more terrible even than apoplexy. Your friends here say his brother had an attack of the same nature, when about his age. Your cousins mentioned to me that Col. Francis (Tench's brother) has been much obliged to you for some assistance in the disposal of exchange in his commission. I am very ready to give credit to them, for I know you love to do acts of kindness.

Your political postscripts will always afford me entertainment, nor need you either fear my quoting your authority or being infected with the rage of party. I am amused by such subjects, but no more seriously affected than your

wife would be, who, farther than your interests are concerned, cares nearly as much for a prime minister as she does for one of Harriet's old stockings. I would not as a friend advise Mr. G. Grenville to come and pass a summer in North America. It might be unsafe.

PHILADELPHIA: 9th March 1768.

DEAR SISTER,—. . . Pray (as old Polonius says) when you "was young and in love," did you approve of serenading? It is extremely in vogue here now. The manner is as follows: We, with four or five young officers of the regiment in barracks, drink as hard as we can, to keep out the cold, and about midnight sally forth, attended by the band, which consists of ten musicians, horns, clarinets, hautboys, and bassoons, march thro' the streets, and play under the window of any lady you choose to distinguish; which they esteem a high compliment. In about an hour all the blackguards who sleep upon bulks, with gentlemen of a certain profession who sweeten the streets at night, are collected round, drawn by that charm which soothes a savage breast, and altogether make it extremely agreeable in a fine frosty morning. I have been out twice, and only once got a violent cold by it. I sometimes get into parties of whist at night, and was very successful at first—had got about ten guineas of winning; but I am now pretty near even again. We have no plays or public diversions of any kind; not so much as a walk for the ladies, that there is no opportunity of seeing them but at church, or their own houses, or once a fortnight at the assembly. I have been to some of their assemblies, and have danced once with a charming girl, a cousin of yours; but you never saw her, nor in all likelihood ever will. I shall, therefore, only tell you I was very happy, and very much envied. This is not the season to get furs from the Indian country, and when they do come I don't know if there are any fit for ladies' wear. . . .

NEW YORK: 4th June 1768.

DEAR BROTHER,—. . . I am but just arrived, and find a ship on the point of sailing for London. I have little to

say, but that I have been eat up almost by mosquitoes on the road. You must have felt the venom of those cursed insects in Portugal. I am so mauled that I don't know if my legs will be fit to appear in public tomorrow; if they should, I wait upon the General and Captain Maturin. I shall likewise deliver your letter to Mr. Atche Thompson, who is a considerable merchant here. I was very fortunate in my company hither. I came with a young gentleman of one of the first families in the city, who has lately married a very pretty agreeable girl in Philadelphia; so I shall get into parties both male and female while I continue among them. We met Captain Francis upon the road, but I did not know him. I hope to see him in less than a fortnight in Philadelphia. His character makes me very desirous of an acquaintance with him, and I am not upon bad terms with his family. This is an advantage I have to thank you for, as well as for almost every other which does me credit on this side of the water. . . .

The devil take my bank-note, and the man who picked it up! I wish he was bitten all over with mosquitoes, and that I had the scratching of him! You will certainly be right in making a purchase of lands in America, and no time so proper as the present. They are to be had at a lower rate now than could have been at any period for years past, owing to the extreme scarcity of money. Your coz., the Captain, I dare say, is a good judge of situations.

This is a better place for company and amusements than Philadelphia; more gay and lively. I have already seen some pretty women.

You may tell my sister that I get acquainted with families, and drink tea, and play at cards; and go about to assemblies dancing minuets. I shall hardly get any dancing here. It is growing very hot, and Sir Harry Moore is gone back into the country; they say land jobbing. I am stunned with the firing of guns and crackers, on account of the King's

birthday; all the town illuminated. The General makes all the officers in the town drunk at his house. . . .

NEW YORK: 13th June 1768.

. . . I am upon the point of returning to Philadelphia, and shall set out tomorrow. The novelty of this place made me think it more enchanting at first than I now find it. As to its situation, it affords nothing extraordinary but the North river, which is navigable for large sloops 170 miles up the country, and by its junction with smaller streams, opens a vast communication with the interior parts. This, you know, is a great advantage, and makes lands above much more valuable. Our river at Philadelphia, tho' a mile broad at the city is not navigable more than thirty miles above it. With regard to the people, manner, living and conversation, one day shows you as much as fifty. Here are no diversions at all at present. The plays are over, and I told you some time since the cause of there being no assemblies. I have gone dining about from house to house, but meet with the same dull round of topics everywhere—lands, Madeira wine, fishing parties, or politics, make up the sum total. They have a vile practice here, which is peculiar to the city: I mean that of playing at back-gammon (a noise I detest), which is going forward in the public coffee-houses from morning till night, frequently ten or a dozen tables at a time. I think a single man in America is one of the most wretched beings I can conceive, yet our friend Atchy Thompson is still a bachelor; but he talks of going to Europe immediately upon the return of his partner, I believe to settle in Ireland or London. He is a good-natured youth, and I believe in a very good way; at least I can answer for his having a good house and good wine.

I waited on General Gage, and had the honour of some conversation with him. It was lucky I went at the time I did, as he has been out of town almost ever since. So has Captain Maturin; but he paid me a visit this morning, and with the extremest politeness told me how much he was concerned at my departure; that he hoped to have had

the honour of seeing me at his house; that he will be always proud of an opportunity to show any civilities to Mr. Francis's friends, and that I may depend upon his forwarding my letters constantly. In fact he is a very agreeable well-bred man, and his lady a pretty woman. I wish I could have been better acquainted with him, which I certainly will whenever I come to New York again. . . .

I live a tolerably jolly life, but I see no prospect of getting rich. Plague take this subordination. I want to make a ramble about 200 miles up the country. Sir Wm. Johnson holds a congress of a vast number of Indian tribes. Governor is going up thither, and a great many strangers. I have a violent curiosity to see something of that nature, but have had no opportunity yet. I must and will save a little money for amusements by and by. Heavens! what an immense country this is! If I should meet with two or three disappointments, I don't know but I may set down upon a tract and plant cabbages. . . .

15th June [1768.]

I am here still. There never was such uncomfortable weather. It has blown a hurricane these two days, and rained constantly. I am prevented crossing the ferry to set out for Philadelphia. So uncertain is this climate, that in the morning you may wear a suit of cloth cloathes, at noon sit in your shirt with windows and doors open, and in the evening of the same day wrap yourself up in a fur cloak. . . .

Among the many disputes in this and the more northern parts of America, the religions are not the least. The zealous members of the Church of England are full of apprehensions at the great and growing power of the Presbyterians. Don't imagine that I mean in any matters that regard salvation; that affair might have been left to shift for itself at doomsday. The alarm was taken at an election lately; since which the parties have raged with tolerable violence. The Church people, conscious that the Presbyterians, who have the appointment of their own ministers, must always outnumber them, are desirous of having some person here vested with the power of ordination—but they

don't like a bishop, nor ecclesiastical courts, in short, they don't know what they want. You remember Dean Swift was to have been made Bishop of Virginia. The Presbyterians should not be allowed to grow too great. They are all of republican principles. The Bostonians are Presbyterians. Now I talk of Church matters, pray where is Rosenhagen? I am fearful he is very inattentive to his flock in Florida. We just now hear that Major Rogers has been playing the devil at his fort, and that he had a scheme of seizing another, and giving up both to the Indians to plunder. It is said he is coming down here in irons.[1] . . .

PHILADELPHIA: 17th August 1768.

MY DEAR BROTHER,— . . . I am very fond of your cousin the Colonel. We have been taking a ramble together sixty miles up the country—the first inland view I have had of it. Our chief object was Bethlehem (not of Judea, but), a settlement of Moravians, about a thousand in number. This little society live together upon a plan very like that of the Jesuits in Paraguay: a religious government. They have among them mechanics and manufacturers of every kind necessary for their own accommodation, and, I believe, the most complete farm in America. They have their own schools, which are not contemptible, their own language, own customs and religion. Music, in which they are almost all proficients, is an article of their religion. So far, state is a natural one; but the poor devils have no property; the labours of each individual being dedicated to the general advantage of the community, from whose stock each has his portion of necessary comforts (not even excepting their wives) allotted according to the pleasure of the directing fathers. The children are the children of the State. I need not tell you they are not free agents, as you know well enough it is nothing but property can make us so. . . .

You are a sort of physician to the State, and are more engaged in proportion as its disorders increase. I suppose you will be putting us Americans to our purgations shortly.

[1] Rosenhagen was at this time a chaplain in the army.

This is a very capital billiard match you write me of. I am anxious to know the event, and I'll lay a wager you'll have forgotten by the time you write me again. I have just subscribed to a billiard table, tho' I never play. I like the party so well I don't grudge my 40*s*. Forty shillings Philadelphia currency is about twenty-four sterling. This currency matter is a great convenience, for if I spend nominally my whole appointment, I lay by about sixty pounds in every hundred. This is a speculation, you'll please to observe; the fact is, I lay by very little. Plague take it, I shall never be rich. . . .

PHILADELPHIA: 2nd January 1769.

MY DEAR BROTHER,— . . . pray, Mr. Francis, why an't I to have a letter by this pacquet as well as the Colonel? Why, sir, I have been in the company of the Duchess of Gordon as well as he,—and I supped t'other night with Colonel Scott, who is worth three hundred thousand pounds; and more, sir, if he loves you half so well as I do—why then—the devil fetch me. . . .

I am quite tired of plodding for ever in this confounded Quaker town. Plague take it! I work without getting rich. You can never have had a party in a sleigh or sledge, for I recollect it was summer when you were in Holland. I had a very clever one a few days ago. Seven sleighs with two ladies and two men in each, preceded by fiddlers on horseback, set out together upon a snow of about a foot deep on the roads, to a public house a few miles from town, where we danced, sung, and romped and eat and drank, and kicked away care from morning till night, and finished our frolic in two or three side-boxes at the play.

You can have no idea of the state of the pulse seated with pretty women, mid deep in straw, your body armed with furs and flannell, clear air, bright sunshine, and spotless sky, horses galloping, every feeling turned to joy and jollity! I wished heartily to have had you amongst us, and so did cousin Patty.

The family here are in daily expectation of Mr. Tench Francis's arrival. I fancy he will come in good spirits, for

from what I hear his affairs have turned out more fortunately than was expected. . . .

Our friends at Boston have been kicking against the pricks, but seem pretty quiet now. If you send any troops here, do set them about making new roads, for I can't get a ride since the snow left us, if it were for my life; and I am all headaches, and rheumatisms, and cold. . . .

(To be continued.)

THE PRINCIPIO COMPANY.

A Historical Sketch of the First Iron-Works in Maryland.

BY HENRY WHITELY.

(Concluded from page 198.)

The next few years were hard ones for the Company financially; the product of the blast of 1765 turned out rank red short, and, being sold in England, nearly destroyed their old-established reputation. Indeed, so nearly ruined was their character that they were much distressed to make sale of any of the pig consigned to them. Carelessness in drawing bar-iron at the forges under Baxter's charge added to their troubles. The Navy Department rejected a large lot because of its irregularity, but even the best finished iron was dull and could hardly be sold. They write to Mr. Russell in May, 1767, that "American bar-iron here is a mere drug and not worth the Company's while engaging in it; there is no market for it, as no one cares to purchase it even at £16 per ton." In spite of all this, drafts which came from America for funds to carry on the works were none the less heavy nor incessant, and it is no wonder that the letters of this period were written in a most despondent strain, full of remonstrance and complaint. Agriculture had been neglected to such a degree that, in place of raising sufficient grain on their own land, they were forced to expend large sums of ready money for corn and wheat. Ore became scarce on their own banks, and no vigorous measures were taken to secure future supplies. The bounds of their numerous tracts of land became confused with others, and in some cases could not be disentangled except by long and vexatious law-suits. Trespassers came and *squatted* on some of the

choicest spots, and various other causes filled their minds with unpleasant forebodings; the contrast between their present meagre dividends and their former prosperity was too marked not to be commented upon.

Thomas Russell's mission was to correct these evils, and it was a laborious task, but, seconded by the honest efforts of Francis Phillips, whom he had made manager at Kingsbury, a most worthy and industrious man, affairs gradually regained a healthier aspect. A new bank of ore was leased and opened. The pig made of it proved to be of excellent quality. "As good," they said in London, "as our best Principio ever was." For four years he devoted himself with all his energies to obtaining a thorough knowledge of the situation and of the condition of the iron business. He visited all the works frequently, went several times to Virginia, the principal home market for bars, and at last had the satisfaction of seeing a change for the better arise, and of receiving the thanks of his partners.

Russell now began to think of returning. His mother and sister had died in his absence. His brother William, who had undertaken an extensive business in Birmingham, was clamoring for his assistance in conducting it. His private affairs needed his attention, and he accordingly sailed from Philadelphia in June, 1769. On his departure the management devolved upon Francis Phillips and William Baxter jointly, the former controlling Kingsbury and Lancashire furnaces, the latter Principio and North East forge; but each was ordered to submit his accounts to a semi-annual inspection by the other, and bills of exchange drawn by one were to be made payable to the order of the other. This double arrangement continued till the death of Phillips, towards the end of the year, after which things seem to have fallen back into their old channel, and Baxter, relieved of restraint, returned to his former practices, until the Company could endure him no longer, and in 1770 appointed Nathaniel Martin to the general supervision of the works as a temporary expedient, until they could induce Mr. Russell to resume the position. This he consented to do, and

accordingly set out from England for the second time in 1771.

From this time forward he was an *American.* In the difficulties which arose, and which eventually culminated in the Revolution, he unhesitatingly cast in his fortunes with the colonists. This, in connection with a severe illness shortly after his arrival, may have been one reason for a remissness in attending to their business, with which the Company charge him in the following letter, commenting very severely upon his management:

"LONDON 31 March 1772

"MR THOMAS RUSSELL,

"SIR, We are now to acknowledge the receipt of yours of 22 Jany last with your draft for £400, this you will be pleased to observe with what was drawn on us before by you since your return to America and within the space of nine months amounts to almost twelve hundred pounds, for the time an enormous sum and is such a burthen on us as we now inform you, we neither can nor will bear hereafter unless we are better acquainted with the disposition of our concerns abroad than at present and we are the more alarmed as you give us reason to expect further drafts within the course of three or four months more,—We must likewise remind you of the intent of your going a second time to America which was to bring to punishment Wm Baxter and to settle our affairs there,—in this we think you have used us extremely ill, as we are doubtful you have neither effected the one nor forwarded the other, of this we are certain that contrary to your word and promise when you left England you have never sent us a line of intelligence or in the least acquainted us with what you have been doing in order to re-establish our affairs. Do you think sir any set of Gentlemen embarked in a business like ours, can be so negligent of their interests as to remain content in such darkness, or to suffer a continuation of such remissness, and we cannot but remark to you that from the constant date and tenor of your letters and the excuses and hurry in which you generally conclude them 'the Pacquett either sailing' or 'you setting out on a journey' we fancy you must have spent your chief time in Philada and consequently cannot have given a proper attention to our concerns at the works, these complaints however disagreeable, still we think it a duty to ourselves to communicate to you and must insist that your

best endeavours be used in order to redress them, we remain &c &c."

We do not think Mr. Russell deserved so much blame. Although compelled to admit that the state of affairs showed little improvement, it was not his fault that of late years the streams were failing very much since the land had been cleared, iron ore getting scarce, and what was procured was at great expense, the cordwood most convenient to the furnaces being cut down. Coals were carried a great distance, timber becoming too valuable near the works to be cut down for charcoal. Provisions considerably higher than formerly, the negroes growing old, and many of them superannuated. Iron selling low after being manufactured, with all these inconveniences. These considerations did not impress the Company as forcibly as they deserved, and an attempt was made in 1774, shortly after his marriage with a Maryland lady, to supersede him in the management. Martin had left the Company's employ, and was succeeded by George Matthews at Kingsbury and Lancashire, and by Philip Coale at North East and Principio. To them a joint arrangement was proposed, such as had been undertaken before by Phillips and Baxter, and powers of attorney were even sent out from England for this purpose; but the plan failed because of objections raised by Matthews and doubts of Coale's abilities.

In the midst of these embarrassments came the declaration of war, the finishing stroke to the waning fortunes of the Principio Company. Matthews advised them to relinquish iron-making entirely. He represented to them that their property here was very great; their concern and connections branched out wide and extensive; they had many intricate and disputed matters subsisting; the extent of their lands was not well enough known; their titles to many of the tracts were rather intricate, and although the iron-works might be carried on without loss, yet, from the variety of difficulties and inconveniences the works were naturally subject to, he was apprehensive they would never yield a

profit in any degree equivalent to the capital employed, and deemed the Company's landed property to be the greatest object worthy their attention, as it grew every day more valuable. His advice did not meet with the approbation of the Company, and they struggled on a few months longer, when they began to realize the fact that the colonies were in earnest, and their possessions were in danger of being lost to them entirely. After 1776 they had no real control whatever over any of their American property. Russell continued to operate the furnaces and forges, and supplied bar-iron in large quantities to the government for public purposes, and balls for the use of the rebel cannon.

In 1780 the Maryland General Assembly passed an act to seize and confiscate all British property within the State. This was the end of the Principio Company after an existence of more than sixty years.

All the confiscated British property, including that of "The persons commonly called by the name of the Principio Company, except the part, share, and interest of Thomas Russell, a subject of this State, and one of the said Company;" and "it being represented to this General Assembly that a certain Mr. Washington, a subject of the State of Virginia, is entitled to one undivided twelfth part thereof, and that the said Thomas Russell is entitled to one undivided eighth part of the remaining eleven-twelfth parts thereof," the Commissioners were ordered to inquire into it, and, after laying off and selling the entire property, to set apart one-eighth of eleven-twelfths of the bonds received as purchase-money for the indemnification of Mr. Russell. In conformity with these instructions all the possessions of the Principio Company passed under the auctioneer's hammer.

Among the returns of the sales of confiscated property made by the Intendant of the Revenue, we find the following of the Principio Company:

1781.	Aug 15.	Lots on Whetstone P^{t} 75 acres	£2,788
	Sept 12.	Lancashire Furnace 1685 "	9,125
	"	60 negroes	7,276
	"	cattle & horses	354
	25.	Lots on Whetstone P^{t} 120 acres	4,891

1781.	Dec 5.	Tract called "Harbour" 900 acres	£1,710
	8.	16 negroes & other property (Kingsbury)	2,328
	12.	Tract of land 231 acres	1,062
1782.	Apr 22.	North East (to Thos Russell)	5,550
	July 30.	Tract of land 40 acres	3,111
	Aug 20.	25 negroes	878
	Octo 7.	11633¼ acres of land	44,650
1785.	Aug 22.	tract of land 27 acres	789
	" 23.	" " 1106¼	5,538
			£90,050

Thomas Russell, in lieu of a part of the share of the proceeds which was to be reserved for him, took the North East Works and land enumerated as follows: The forge and other buildings, with the tract of land called "Vulcan's Delight," one hundred and fifty acres, on which the buildings stand, £1500; the tract of land called "Geofarison," containing five thousand seven hundred and forty-three acres, *in general very poor*, £2153; five hundred acres of leased lands, £250; thirty-two negroes, £1356, with teams and farming implements, making, in the aggregate, £5550. He purchased on his private account several other tracts, including "Russell's Union," about two thousand acres in all. Here he passed the short remainder of his life, an honorable, useful, and public-spirited citizen. He died May 5, 1786, aged forty-five years, at Orkney, in Baltimore County, the residence of his old friend, John Weston, and was buried in the ancient graveyard of the Episcopal Church at North East.

In the spring of 1829, James and George P. Whitaker leased of Mrs. Frances Sewall the site of the old North East forge, including the water-power, seventy to one hundred acres of land, the old grist-mill, office, and what had been the quarters for the slaves belonging to the Russell estate.

George P. Whitaker took the entire superintendence, and got a three-fired forge with two hammers into operation late in the fall of 1829 or early in 1830. About 1832, James Whitaker sold his interest to Joseph Whitaker and Thomas Garrett, who, with G. P. Whitaker, carried on the forge, mill, etc., until about 1837, when they sold out all their interest to William Chandler and James Whitaker, Jr., from whose

hands it passed to Isaac Smith and Henry Nail, thence to the present owners,—"The McCullough Iron Company."

Returning now to the Principio Company, it would seem that all the land that had belonged to the said Company, lying west of the main road leading from Charlestown to West Nottingham, including the furnace, forge, and other improvements, were abandoned at the breaking out of the Revolutionary war, and subsequently confiscated and held by the State (in which condition it seems to have remained until about 1785), when several thousand acres of the land were purchased from the State by Colonel Samuel Hughes, Edwin Cole, Richard Potts, and others. Soon after a blast furnace was erected a few hundred yards south of the original furnace site; also a boring-mill on the site of the old forge, some four hundred or five hundred yards north of the furnace; erected also a grist-mill and tenement houses. One timber of the upper dam still remains in the bottom of the creek. From all that can be learned from the oldest residents, the furnace, during Colonel Hughes's ownership, was engaged in making cannon, cannon-balls, hollow-ware, etc. The cannon were bored out, proved, and shipped to the government at different points. Colonel Hughes, at this time a wealthy and prominent citizen of Harford County, engaged in supplying the government with cannon, etc., would seem to have made him and the furnace property a mark for the British during the war of 1812, when Cockburn's fleet was cruising at the head of Chesapeake Bay. He, with a portion of his command, came up the Principio Creek in barges, and landed a short distance below the furnace. Their first attack was on the cannon, bursting many, the rest of which they spiked, making all unfit for service, with the remark that "the Americans knew better how to make guns than to use them."

They then proceeded to burn the boring-mill, furnace, coal-house, grist-mill, and a bridge across Principio Creek on Post road.

Soon after the close of the war Colonel Hughes partially repaired the furnace and some of the surroundings; but

being sadly wrecked financially carried it on only two or three years, and abandoned the property, with at that time a heavy mortgage on it, in favor of Messrs. Smith and Gilmour, of Baltimore, under which mortgage it was sold about 1834 to David Stewart and others of Baltimore, who held it until June, 1836, when it was purchased by George P. Whitaker, Thomas Garrett, Joseph Whitaker, and others, who found innumerable squatters with their log cabins on different parts of the property, the furnace surroundings all lying out as commons, the former buildings rotted or pulled down.

They at once commenced erecting furnace buildings, tenements, etc., cutting and coaling wood, and got the furnace in blast early in 1837, which has been in operation ever since.

About 1790, Colonel Sam. Hughes bought out all the interests of his former partners in the Principio furnace property. It would also seem that at the breaking out of the Revolutionary war the old Principio Company had become dissolved, Thomas Russell, one of the former members of the Principio Company, retaining all that portion east of the Post road leading from Charlestown to West Nottingham.

From old castings that have been found, and are yet in existence, it would seem, from certain marks and brands on them, that Colonel Hughes called the furnace "Cecil Furnace." He was regarded at that time as a man of great wealth; but, after an active life of many years, all his immense property passed out of his hands, dying poor, and, to use the remark of an eminent Harford County lawyer, "He died his own executor." All of the original Principio property, with considerable added to it, now belongs to George P. Whitaker.

[NOTE.—"The Principio Company" was written by Henry Whitely, of Philadelphia, and not by his father, William G. Whitely, of Wilmington, Delaware, as we have been informed since the issue of the July number of the PENNA. MAG.—ED.]

EXTRACTS FROM WASHINGTON'S DIARY, KEPT WHILE ATTENDING THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF 1787.

[The Philadelphia *Times* of July 31 last, published the following excerpts from the MS. Diary of Washington preserved in the Library of Congress, probably the rough notes from which the diary in the State Department was written. Extracts from the latter have been published by Sparks in his "Life and Times of Washington." It is a small volume about the size and appearance of a pocket memorandum book, containing seventy-eight pages, of which thirty-four cover his sojourn in Philadelphia. A few corrections of proper names have been made, and the annotations appended by the ED. PA. MAG.]

1787. *Friday*, 11 [*May*].—Set out before breakfast and rid 12 miles to Skirrets' Tavern when we baited and proceeded to the Ferry at Havredegrass to dinner. The wind being high and the weather squally I did not cross the river—frequent showers thro' the day with mists and sunshine alternating.

Saturday, 12.—Crossed the river early in the morning and breakfasted at the ferry house at the east side—Dined at the head of Elk and lodged at Wilmington—at the head of Elk Mr. [Francis] Corbin joined me and took a seat in my carriage to Wilmington.

Sunday, 13.—About nine o'clock Mr. Corbin and I set out dined at Chester where I was met by Gen'ls Mifflin, Knox and Varnum, Cols. Humphreys and Mentges and Majors Jackson and Nicholas—After dinner we proceeded for the city—at the Ferry (Gray's) was met by the Troop of City Light Horse by whom and a large concourse I was escorted to Mr. Houses.[1]—After passing the artillery officers (who saluted) at the entrance of the city. On my arrival a peal

[1] Mrs. Mary House kept a boarding-house at the corner of Fifth and Market Streets.

was rung—and Mr. Robt. Morris and his lady again pressing me to lodge with them I had my baggage moved and took up my quarters at their house—After paying my respects to the President of the State, Dr. Franklin.

Monday, 14.—This being the day appointed for the meeting of the Convention such members of it as were in town assembled at the State House, where it was found that two States only were represented, viz., Virginia and Pennsylvania. Agreed to meet again to-morrow at 11 o'clock. Dined (in a family way) at Mr. Morris's and tk tea there.

Tuesday, 15.—Repaired to the State Ho. at the hour appointed. No more States represented, tho there were members (but not sufficient to form a quorum) from two or three others, viz., No. Carolina and Delaware, as also Jersey. Govr Randolph, of Virginia, came in to-day. Dined with the Society of the Cincinnati.

Wednesday, 16.—Only two States represented. Agreed to meet at — o'clock. Doctr McClurg, of Virginia, came in.[1] Dined at Doctr Franklin's. Drank Tea and spent the evg with Mr. John Penn.

Thursday, 17.—Mr. [Charles] Pinkney, of So. Carolina, coming in from New York, and Mr. Rutledge being here before, formed a representation from that State. Colonel Mason getting in this evening from Virginia, completed the whole number of this State in the delegation.

Friday, 18.—The State of New York was represented. Dined at a club at Grey's and drank tea at Mr. Morris', after that went with Mrs. Morris and some other ladies to hear a lady read at the College Hall.[2]

Saturday, 19.—No more States represented. Agreed to meet at 1 o'clock on Monday. Dined at Mr. Ingersoll's[3] and spent the evening at home, going to bed soon.

[1] James McClurg took the place of Patrick Henry, declined.

[2] Mrs. O'Connell. "The Lecture to be read this Evening is a continuance of the Dissertation on Eloquence, which commenced in the first course: At the conclusion of which Solima of the Poet Hamet, translated by Sir William Jones, will be delivered."—*Pa. Packet.*

[3] Jared Ingersoll, Esq., who, in 1785, lived on Market, near Fourth Street.

Sunday, 20.—Went into the country with Mr. and Mrs. Morris and dined at their place at the Hills; returned in the afternoon and drank Tea at Mr. Powel's.[1]

Monday, 21.—Delaware State was represented. Dined and drank Tea at Mr. Bingham's,[2] splendor shewn.

Tuesday, 22.—North Carolina represented. Dined and drank Tea at Mr. Morris's.

Wednesday, 23.—No more States represented. Rid to Gen'l Mifflin's to breakfast, after which, in company with him, Mr. Madison, Mr. Rutledge and others, crossed the Schuylkill above the Falls, called Mr. Peter's, Mr. Penn's and Mr. Hamilton's, and repaired at the hour of one to the State House. Dined at Mr. Chew's with the wedding guests.[3] I drank Tea there in a large circle of Ladies.

Thursday, 24.—No more States represented. Dined and drank Tea at Mr. Ross's[4]—one of my Postillion boys (Paris) being ill sent for Doctr. Jones to him.[5]

Friday, 25.—Another delegate comes in from the State of New Jersey. Made a quorum. And seven States being now represented the body was organized and I was called to the Chair by a unanimous vote. Major Jackson was appointed Secretary and a Com'ee. consisting of Mr. Wythe, Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Ch. Pinkney chosen to prepare rules and regulations by which the convention should be governed. To give time for this it adjourned till Monday, 10 o'clock. Returned many visits in the forenoon and dined at Thomas Willings.[6] Spent the evening at my quarters.

[1] Samuel Powel, who lived at 112 South Third Street, between Walnut and Spruce Streets.

[2] William Bingham, owner of the famous mansion on Third, near Spruce Street.

[3] Miss Peggy Oswald Chew, daughter of Benjamin Chew, was married to Colonel John Eager Howard, of Maryland, May 18, 1787.

[4] John Ross, a prominent merchant of the city.

[5] Dr. John Jones, Health Officer of the city, who resided on Market, between Second and Third Streets.

[6] President of the Bank of North America, who lived on Third below Walnut Street.

Saturday, 26.—Returned all my visits this forenoon where I could get an acct. of the Lodg'gs of those to whom I was indebted for theirs. Dined at a Club at the City Tavern, and spent the Evening at my quarters writing letters.

Sunday, 27.—Went to the Romish Church[1] to a high Mass. Dined, drank Tea and spent the evening at my lodgings.

Monday, 28.—Met in Convention at 10 o'clock. Two States more, viz.: Massachusetts and Connecticut being represented, made nine more on the floor; proceeded to the establishment of rules for the government of the Convention and adjourned about 2 o'clock. Dined at home. Drank Tea in a large circle at Mr. Francis'.[2]

Tuesday, 29.—Dined at home and went to Mr. Juhan's benefit concert at the City tavern.[3] The same number of States met in the Convention as yesterday.

Wednesday, 30.—Convention as yesterday. Dined with Mr. [John] Vaughan, drank tea and spent the evening at Mr. and Mrs. John Lawrence's.[4]

Thursday, 31.—Convention representation increased by coming in of the State of Georgia, occasioned by the arrival of Maj. Pierce and Mr. Houston.[5] Dined at Mr. Francis's and drank tea with Mrs. Meredith.[6]

[1] St. Joseph's, in Willing's Alley.

[2] Tench Francis, who resided at 101 Chestnut, between Third and Fourth Streets.

[3] CONCERT | At the CITY TAVERN, on *Tuesday* the 29th. | Instant. Will be Performed, | Mr Juhan's Concert. | The Plan of which is as follows; | Act I. | A New Overture . . . Reinagle | Concerto Flute . . . Brown | Song . . . Sarti | Overture . . . Haydn. | Act II. | Sonata Piano Forte . . . Mr Juhan of Haydn & Reinagle | Concerto Violoncello . . . Capron | Solo Violin . . . Juhan | The Grand Overture . . . Martini. | Tickets at 7/6 each to be had at the City Tavern, and of Mr Juhan, at Mr Capron's, in Norris's Alley.—*Penna. Packet*, May 28, 1787.

[4] Formerly mayor of the city and justice of the Colonial Supreme Court.

[5] William Pierce and William Houston.

[6] Mrs. Meredith resided at No. 63 N. Front, between Arch and Race Streets.

Friday, June 1.—Convention as yesterday. Dined with Mr. John Penn and spent the evening at Bush-hill at a very elegant entertainment given to a numerous company by Mr. Hamilton, the owner of it.

Saturday, 2.—Major Jenifer, coming in with powers from the State of Maryland authorizing one member to represent it, added another State, now eleven, to the convention. Dined at club at the City Tavern and spent the evening at my qrs.

Sunday, 3.—Dined at Mr. Clymer's and drank Tea there.[1]

Monday, 4.—Convention as on Saturday. Dined with Gen. Mifflin, reviewed the Light Infantry Cavalry and part of the Artillery of the city and drank Tea with Mrs Cadwalader.[2]

Tuesday, 5.—Dined at Mr. Morris' with a large Company and spent the evening there.

Wednesday, 6.—Dined at the President's with a large Company and drank Tea there, after wch came home and wrote letters for France.

Thursday, 7.—Dined at a Club at the Indian Queen[3]—Drank Tea and spent the evening there.

Friday, 8.—Dined, drank Tea and spent the evening at home.

Saturday, 9.—Dined at the club at the City Tavern, drank tea, and sat till 10 o'clock at Mr. Powels.

Sunday, 10.—Breakfasted by agreement at Mr. Powels, and, in company with him, rode to see the Botanical Garden of Mr. Bartram, which, though stored with many curious Trees, Shrubs and flowers, was neither large nor laid out in much taste. From hence we rode to the farm of one Jones to see the effect of the Plaister of Paris. This appeared obvious. . . . From hence visited Mr. Powel's farm,

[1] George Clymer, who, in 1785, resided on Fourth, between Walnut and Spruce Streets.

[2] Mrs. Cadwalader resided on Second, between Spruce and Union Streets.

[3] A famous hostelry, on Fourth above Chestnut Street. It was torn down in May of 1851.

after which I went to Mr. Morris' country seat to dinner by appointment, and returned to the city about dark.

Monday, 11.—Dined, Drank Tea and spent the evening (in my own room) at Mr. Morris's.

Tuesday, 12.—Dined at Mr. Morris's and drunk Tea there. Went afterwards to the concert at the City Tavern.[1]

Wednesday, 13.—Dined at Mr. Clymers and drank Tea there—spent the evening at Mr. Bingham's.

Thursday, 14.—Dined at Maj'r Moore's[2] and spent the evening at my own lodgings.

Friday, 15.—Dined at Mr. Powel's and drank Tea there.

Saturday, 16.—Dined at the Club at the City Tavern and spt. the evening at my own lodgings.

Sunday, 17.—Went to church, heard Bishop White preach, and see him ordain two gentlemen into the order of Deacons. After which rid eight miles into the country, dined with Mr. Jno. Ross, and returned to town again about dusk.

Monday, 18.—Dined at Quarterly meeting of the Sons of St. Patrick at the City Tavern, and drank Tea at Dr. Shippens with the party of Mrs. Livingston.[3]

Tuesday, 19.—Dined in a family way at Mr. Morris's and spent the evening there in a large party.

Wednesday, 20.—Dined at Mr. Meredith's and drank Tea there.

Thursday, 21.—Dined at Mr. Prager[4] and spent the evening in my own room.

[1] Mr. Reinagle's | CONCERT | Will be performed at the City Tavern, this evening, | the 12th Instant. | Act I | Overture . . . Bach | Concerta Violoncello . . . Capron. | Song . . . Sarti | Act II | Overture . . . Andre | Concerto Violin . . . Fiorella. | Concerto Flute . . . Brown. | Act III | Overture (La Buono Figludla) . . . Picicini. | Sonata Piano Forte, . . . Reinagle. | A New Overture (in which is introduced a Scots Strathspey) . . . Reinagle. | The Concert will begin exactly a quarter before 8 o'clock | Tickets 7/6 each, to be had at the City Tavern, | and of *Mr. Reinagle*, in Carter's Alley.—*Penna. Packet*, June 12, 1787.

[2] Thomas Lloyd Moore, who lived on Pine Street.

[3] Dr. William Shippen, the younger, and his daughter Anne Hume, who married Henry Beekman Livingston, of New York, March 11, 1781.

[4] A prominent Front Street merchant.

Friday, 22.—Dined in a family way at Mr. Morris's and drank Tea at Mr. Francis Hopkinson's.[1]

Saturday, 23.—Dined at Doctr Rush's and drank Tea at Mr. Morris's.

Sunday, 24.—Dined at Mr. Morris's and spent the evening at Mr. Meredith's in drinking Tea only.

Monday, 25.—Dined at Mr. Morris's. Drunk Tea there and spent the evening in my own room.

Tuesday, 26*th.*—Took a family dinner with Govr. Randolph and made one of a party to drink Tea at Gray's Ferry.

Wednesday, 27*th.*—Dined at Mr. Morris's. Drk Tea there and spent the evening in my own room.

Thursday, 28*th.*—Dined at Mr. Morris's in a large Compy. Drank Tea there and spent the evening in my own room.

Friday, 29.—Dined at Mr. Morris' and spent the evening at home.

Saturday, 30.—Dined at a club of gentlemen and ladies at the Cool Spring, Springsbury, and spt. the evening at home.

July (*Sunday*) 1.—Dined and spent the evening at home.

Monday, 2.—Dined with some of the members of Convention at the Indian Queen. Drank Tea at Mr. Bingham's and walked afterwards in the State Ho. Yard. Sat for Mr. Pine.[2]

Tuesday, 3.—Sat for Mr. Peale[3] this morning, Dined at Mr. Morris's, Drank Tea at Mr. Powel's and went with him to the Agricultural Society at Carpenters' Hall.

Wednesday, 4*th.*—Visited Dr. —— Aratory,[4] Heard at the Calvanist Church an oration on the Anniversary of the Independence,[5] Dined afterwards with this State Society of Cincinnati and drank Tea at Mr. Powel's.

[1] Judge Francis Hopkinson resided at No. 149 Sassafras, between Fourth and Fifth Streets.

[2] Robert Pine, artist, resided at the corner of Sixth and Market Streets.

[3] Charles Wilson Peale, the artist, resided at the corner of Third and Lombard Streets.

[4] *Query*, Rittenhouse's Orrery.

[5] The oration was delivered by James Campbell, Esq.

Thursday, 5.—Dined at Mr. Morris's, drank Tea and spent the evening there.

Friday, 6.—Sat for Mr. Peale to draw my picture in the morning,[1] dined at the City Tavern with some gentlm. of the convention and spent the evening at home.

Saturday, 7*th.*—Dined at the Cold Spring with the club; returned in the evening and drank tea at Mr. Meredith's.

Sunday, 8*th.*—About 12 o'clock rode to Dr. Logan's, near germn Town, where I dined, returned in the evening and drk Tea at Mr. Morris's.

Monday, 9.—Sat in the morning for Mr. Peale. Dined at Mr. Morris's and drk Tea at Dr. Redman's.[2]

Tuesday, 10.—Dined at Mr. Morris's; drank Tea at Mr. Bingham's and went to the play.[3]

Wednesday, 11*th.*—Dined [at] Mr. Morris's and spent the evening at home.

Thursday, 12*th.*—Dined at Mr. Morris's and drank Tea with Mrs. Livingston.

Friday, 13*th.*—Dined at Mr. Morris's, drank Tea there and spent the evening.

Saturday, 14*th.*—Dined at the Cold Spring Club and went to the play in the afternoon.[4]

[1] The *Penna. Packet* of September 18 announces: "A Mezzotinto Print of His Excellency General Washington done by Charles Wilson Peale of Philadelphia, from a portrait which he has painted since the sitting of the Convention is now completed: the likeness is esteemed the best that has been executed in a print." The first plate of Washington engraved by Peale was in 1777, the second in 1780, and the third, the one above announced.

[2] Dr. John Redman resided No. 42 North Second, between Arch and Market Streets.

[3] SPECTACULUM VITÆ. | At the Opera House in Southwark. | This Evening the 10 July, | Will be performed | A Concert, | In the First Part of which will be introduced an Entertainment, called the | Detection: | or, the Servants Hall in an Uproar. | To which will be added— A Comic Opera, | in two Acts called | Love in a Camp, | or Patrick in Prussia &c &c.

[4] The performance consisted of a concert, in which was introduced an opera called "The Tempest, or the Inchanted Island," and a "Grand Masque of Neptune & Amphitrite."

Sunday, 15.—Dined at Mr. Morris's & remained there all afternoon.

Monday, 16.—Dined at Mr. Morris's & drank Tea at Mr. Powel's.

Tuesday, 17.—Dined at Mr. House's & made an excursion with a party to Gray's Ferry to Tea.

Wednesday, 18.—Dined at Mr. Milligan's[1] and drank Tea at Mr. Meredith's.

Thursday, 19.—Dined at Mr. John Penn's (the younger), drank Tea and spent the evening at home.

Friday, 20.—Dined at home and drank Tea at Mr. Clymer's.

Saturday, 21.—Dined at the Cold Spring Club and went to the play in the afternoon.[2]

Sunday, 22*d*.—Left town by 5 o'clock, breakfasted at General Mifflin's, rode up to the Spring Mills and returned to General Mifflin's to dinner, after which came to the city.

Monday, 23.—Dined at Mr. Morris's and drank Tea at Lansdown, the country seat of Mr. Jno. Penn, returned in the evening.

Tuesday, 24.—Dined at Mr. Morris's and drank Tea at Doctor Rush's.

Wednesday, 25.—Dined at Mr. Morris's, drank Tea and spent the evening at home.

Thursday, 26.—Dined at Mr. Morris's, drank Tea their. I stayed within all the afternoon.

Friday, 27.—Dined at Mr. Morris's drank Tea at Mr. Powel's.

Saturday, 28*th*.—Dined at the Cold Spring Club, and after drank tea there—returned to Mr. Morris's and spent the evening there.

[1] Robert Milligan, attorney-at-law, residing on Chestnut, between Third and Fourth Streets.

[2] At the Southwark Opera-House a concert was given, and between the parts a "Moral Poem, called the Crusade, or the Generous Sultan," by Mr. James Thomson, was recited, with the "Original Epilogue To Edward & Eleonora."

Sunday, 29*th*.—Dined and spent the whole day at Mr. Morris's.

Monday, 30.—In Company with Mr. Gouvern'r Morris went into the neighborhood of the Valley Forge, to a Widow Moore's, a fishing, at whose house we lodged.[1]

Tuesday, 31.—Before breakfast I rode to the Valley Forge and over the whole cantonment and works of the American Army in the winter of 1777–8, and on my return to the Widow Moore's found Mr. and Mrs. Rob. Morris. Spent the day there, fishing, etc., and lodged at the same place.

Wednesday, *Augt* 1*st*.—Returned at 11 o'clock with the above Company to Philadelphia. [Here follows in the MS. a page on the treatment of wheat.]

Thursday, 2.—Dined at Mr. Morris's, drank Tea and spent the evening there.

Friday, 3*d*.—Went up to Trenton on a fishing party with Mr. and Mrs. Robt. Morris, and Mr. and Mrs. Govr. Morris. Dined and lodged at Col. Sam Ogden's. In the evening fished.

Saturday, 4*th*.—In the morning between breakfast and dinner, fished. Dined at General [Philemon] Dickinson's and returned in the evening to Col. Ogden's.

Sunday, 5*th*.—Dined at Col. Ogden's and about 4 o'clock set out for Philadelpa. Halted an hour at Bristol and reached the city before 9 o'clock.

Monday, 6.—Again met in convention agreeably to adjournment and read the report of the comee. Dined at Mr. Morris's and drank Tea at Mr. Meredith's.

Tuesday, 7.—Dined at Mr. Morris's and drank Tea nowhere. Spent the evening at home.

Wednesday, 8*th*.—Dined at the City Tavern and remained there till near 10 o'clock.

Thursday, 9*th*.—Dined at Mr. [John] Swanwick's and spent the evening in my own room, reading letters & accts from home.

[1] At Moore Hall, in Chester County, the seat of the late William Moore, consisting of an estate of upwards of six hundred acres, and large and commodious mansion, barns, stables, and offices.

Friday, 10*th.*—Dined and drank Tea at Mr. Bingham's; spent the evening at home.

Saturday, 11*th.*—Dined at the Cold Spring Club, and after Tea returned & spent the evening at home.

Sunday, 12.—Dined at Bush-hill with Mr. William Hamilton; spent the evening at home writing.

Monday, 13*th.*—Dined at home and drank Tea with Mr. Bache at the President's.

Tuesday, 14*th.*—Dined and drank Tea at home.

Wednesday, 15.—Did the same.

Thursday, 16.—Dined at Mr. Pollock's[1] & spent the evening at my own room.

Friday, 17.—Dined and drank Tea at Mr. Powel's.

Saturday, 18.—Dined at Chief Justice McKean's and spent the evening at home.

Sunday, 19.—In company with Mr. Powel rode up to the White Marsh—dined at German Town—drank Tea at Mr. Peters and returned home in the evening.

Monday, 20.—Dined and drank Tea at home.

Tuesday, 21.—Did the same.

Wednesday, 22.—Dined at the Hills, Mr. Morris's, and visited at Mr. Powels in the evening.

Thursday, 23*d.*—Dined at home and drank tea there.

Friday 24.—Dined at home.

Saturday, 25.—Dined at the Club and spent the evening at home.

Sunday, 26.—Rode into the country 8 or 10 miles and dined with Mr. Morris at the Hills and spent the evening writing letters.

Monday, 27.—Dined at Mr. Morris' and drank Tea at Mr. Powel's.

Tuesday, 28*th.*—Dined at home and drank Tea there.

Wednesday, 29.—Did the same.

Thursday, 30*th.*—Did the same.

Friday, 31*st.*—Dined at home and in company with others went into the country and drank Tea with Mr. Penn.

Saturday, *Sept.* 1.—Dined at home and drank Tea there.

[1] Oliver Pollock, attorney-at-law.

Sunday, 2*d.*—Rode to Mr. Bartram's and other places in the country and dined & drank Tea at Mr. Gray's.

Monday, 3.—Dined and drank Tea at home.

Tuesday, 4*th.*—Dined and did the same after visiting a machine at Dr. Franklin's for smoothing clothes instead of ironing of them. . . .

Wednesday, 5.—Dined at Mr. House's and drank Tea at Mr. Bingham's.

Thursday, 6*th.*—Dined at Doctr Hutchinson's[1] and spent the afternoon and evening at home.

Friday, 7.—Dined and spent the afternoon at home (except whilst riding a few miles).

Saturday, 8.—Dined at the Cold Spring Club and spent the afternoon at home.

Sunday, 9.—Dined at home, after paying a visit to Mr. Gardogne (Minister from Spain), who had come from New York on a visit to me.

Monday, 10*th.*—Dined at home and drank Tea there.

Tuesday, 11*th.*—Dined at home in a large company and drank Tea and spent the evening there.

Wednesday, 12*th.*—Dined at the President's and drank tea at Mr. Pines.

Thursday, 13.—Dined at the Vice President's, Chs. Biddle's, and drank Tea at Mr. Powel's.

Friday, 14.—Dined at the City Tavern at an entertainment given on my account by the City Troop of Light Horse.[2] Spent the evening at Mr. Meridith's.

Saturday, 15.—Finished the Business of the Convention all to signing the proceedings, to do which the House set till 6 o'clock. Spent the evening at my lodgings.

Sunday, 16.—Wrote many letters in the forenoon, dined with Mr. and [Mrs.] Morris at the Hills and returned to town in the evening.

Monday, 17.—Met in Convention and signed the proceed-

[1] Dr. James Hutchinson resided at No. 155 South Second, between Walnut and Spruce Streets.

[2] Refer "History of the First Troop Philadelphia City Cavalry," p. 33, and Appendix.

ings, all except Govr. Randolph, Colo. Mason and Mr. Gerry. Dined all together at the City Tavern and returned to my lodgings.

Tuesday, 18.—Finished what private business I had to do this forenoon. Dined at 1 o'clock at Mr. Morris's, and set off afterwards in Company with Mr. [John] Blair, who took a seat in my chariot with me on my return home; reached Chester, where we lodged.

Wednesday, 19.—Prevented by rain, much of wch fell in the night, from setting off early, baited at Wilmington, dined at Christiana bridge and lodged at head of Elk, at the bridge, near which I narrowly escaped an ugly accidt to my chariot and horses. One fell through and another, with the chariot, was on the point of following, but by exertion was saved.

Thursday, 20.—Sett off after an early breakfast, crossed the Susquehanna and dined in Havre de grass and lodged at Skirrett's Tavern.

Friday, 21*st*.—Breakfasted in Baltimore. Dined at the Widow Ball's, formerly Spurrier's[1] and lodged at Maj'r Snowden's.

Saturday, 22*d*.—Breakfasted at Bladensburgh. Passed thro Georgetown. Dined at Alexandria and reached home by sunset, after being absent 4 months and 14 days.

[1] Better known as "Mrs. Ball's Coffee-House."

RECORDS OF THE HALL FAMILY, OF BRISTOL, PENNSYLVANIA.

Jn°: Hall his Holy Bible Bought of Fra^{s}. Knowles Cost 12/ in Philad^{a} the firs day of y^{e} twelfth month 17$\frac{12}{13}$.[1]

Jn° Hall Born y^{e}: 12th: of the Sixth Month 1686.[2]

1708 Jo^{n} and Rebecca [Radcliffe] Hall Took each
y^{e} 21st 4 mo. other in mariage.

1709 Priscilla Hall Daughter of Jn° & Rebecca Hall
March 25 was born & died 8^{br}. 2 1710.

1711 Bob^{t} Son of Jn° Hall & Rebecca Born and Died 9^{br}
7^{br} 22^{d} 22^{d} 1716.

1714 Rebecca Daughter of Jn° & Rebecca Hall Born And
7^{br} 7th Died 1738/9.

1714
11th: 8th m° Rebecca Hall wife of Jn° Hall Deceased.[3]

1717 Jn°: Hall Son of Jn° & Sarah [Baldwin][4] Hall
Decemb^{r} 1 Born And Died 8^{br} 1734.

1719 Robt. Son of Jn°. & Sarah Born And Died De-
July 5th cemb^{r} 13th 1722.

1722
April 22^{d} Mary Daughter of Jn° & Sarah Born.

1724 Elizath. Daughter of Jn° & Sarah Hall Born.
May 20th Died 9^{br} 13th 1728.

1726
March 29th Sarah Daughter of Jn°. & Sarah Born.

1728 Robt. Son of Jn° & Sarah Born. Died 9^{br} 24th
April 11th 1729.

1730 George Son of Jn° & Sarah Born. Died 7^{br} 12:
July 27th 1731.

[1] This Bible is now owned by Augustus R. Hall, Esq., of Philadelphia, who has courteously allowed to be made copies of the very complete family records which it contains.

[2] See Note A. [3] See Note B. [4] See Note C.

1732 Decembr 28th } Joseph Hall Son of Jn° & Sarah Born.

1735 May 17 } Ruth Daughter of Jn° Hall & Hann^a [Atkinson] Born.

17— ye 11 mo^th 12 day } Lidia Daughter of Jn°. & Hannah Born. Died Augt 23^d 1823.[1]

1741 9th mo^th 25th } Meribah Hall [wife of —— Annis, and] Daughter of John & Hannah Hall Born.

1744 ye 10th 29th } Jane Hall Daughter of John & Hannah Hall Born. Died February 10th 1826.

1760 9th ye 12th: m° } Han^a Hall wife of Jn° Hall died.[2]

1768 } John Hall husband of above Hannah Hall Deceased the 10th 11th month.[3]

Joseph Hall and Hannah [Allaire] Hall was married the 12th of the 10th month Anno Dom. 1755 at Trenton in New Jersey.[4]

John Hall Son of Joseph & Hannah Hall was Born the 8th 12th month Anno Dom. 1755 in Trenton.

Alexander Hall son of Joseph & Hannah Hall was born Anno Dom. 1759 at Trenton.

Joseph Hall Son of Joseph and Hannah Hall was Born the 17th of the 2^d month Anno Dom. 1761 at Trenton.

Thomas Hall Son of Joseph and Hannah Hall was Born the 16th Day of the 4th month A.D. 1763 at Trenton.

Achsah Hall Daughter of Joseph & Hannah Hall was Born the 10th day of the 4th mo. Anno Dom. 1767 in Bristol.

Achsah Hall departed this life the 17th day of the tenth month 1771.

[1] Lydia Hall married, first, in 1763, Henry Wilson; and, secondly, Jonathan Pursell. She had issue by the former: Joseph, born June 24, 1764; John, born October 4, 1766; Isaac, who removed to Philadelphia in 1793.

[2] See Note D.

[3] See Note E.

[4] Hannah Allaire, widow of Joseph Hall, married, secondly, June 11, 1782, William Bidgood, Senior, of Bristol township, who died shortly afterwards without issue by her.

Joseph Hall the husband of Hannah Hall Deceased the 15th Day of the First Month 1777.[1]

John Hall Son of Joseph Hall Decd the 19th of Seventh Month A.D. 1782.

Joseph Hall Son of Joseph & Hannah Hall Decd the 27 of the 9 month aged 22 years & 8 months 10 Days.

Alexander Hall departed this Life The 18th of the 10th month 1783 Aged 24 Years & 3 months.

Thomas Hall and Sarah [Atkinson of Bristol] was married the 17th of the 5th month Anno Dom. 1790.

Harriet Hall Daughter of Thomas & Sarah Hall Born the 28th of the Third Month Anno Dom. 1791 in Bristol.

John Hall Son of Thomas & Sarah Hall Born July 30th 1792.

Joseph Son of Thomas & Sarah Hall Born June 2d 1794.

Sarah Wife of Thomas Hall Died Sept 18th 1794.

Thomas Hall & Rebecca [Church] married Feby 11th 1797.

Merribah Daughter of Thomas & Rebecca Hall Born Novemr 26th 1797.

Edward [Church] Son of Thomas and Rebecca Hall Born Februy 17th 1799.

Robbert Son of Thomas & Rebecca Hall Borne August 28th 1800.

Sarah [Church] Daughter of Thomas & Rebecca Hall Born 18th Octobr 1802.

Samuel Scotten Hall Born Jan 2d 1805.

[Benjamin] Shepherd Hall Born August 23d 1806.

I [saac] Wilson Hall Born Sepr 18th 1808.

Mary Smith Hall Born June 4th 1811.

Meribah Hall Daughter of Thomas & Rebecca Hall departed this life on the fifteenth day of May 1818 between 10 & 11 o'clock in the morning.

Lydia Pursell departed this life August 23d 1823 about 4 o'clock in the morning.

[1] Joseph Hall removed to Trenton, New Jersey, in 1755, but returned to Bristol Borough in 1763, being elected second burgess in the following year, and a member of the common council in 1765.

John Hall Son of Thomas & Sarah Hall departed this life on the 3d day of March 1825 about 4 o'clock in the morning.

Jane Scotten departed this life February 10th 1826 about 7 o'clock in the evening.

Samuel Scotten Hall, son of Thomas and Rebecca, and Christianna Stockton,[1] daughter of William and Ann, were married June 9th, 1831.

Rebecca wife of Thomas Hall died February 21st, 1837 in the 70th year of her age.[2]

Thomas Hall husband of the above died April 16th, 1844 in the 82d year of his age.

Mary Smith Wallace died August 24th, 1858 in the 48th year of her age.

Harriet Westphal died December 29th, 1866 in the 76th year of her age.

Samuel Scotten Hall died September 18th, 1875 in the 71st year of his age.

Christianna, widow of Samuel Scotten Hall died March 23d, 1883.

Sarah Church Spain died March 24th, 1887 in the 85th year of her age.

Joseph Hall and Olivia Gardiner were married January 3d, 1822.

A daughter of Joseph and Olivia Hall was born November 14th, 1822 and buried the same day.

John Augustus Rattaux (Augustus R.) son of Joseph and Olivia Hall was born at Paterson, New Jersey, October 27th, 1824.

Henrietta Idel, daughter of Joseph and Olivia was born at Mount Holly, New Jersey, June 25th, 1828 and died November 12th, 1828.

Olivia, widow of Joseph Hall and daughter of the late

[1] Mrs. Hall was a descendant of John Stockton, of Springfield township, Burlington County, New Jersey, second son of Richard Stockton, the founder of the family. A full account of her ancestry will appear in the "White Ancestry."

[2] See Note F.

Abraham and Olivia Gardiner, of Burlington, New Jersey,[1] died June 13th, 1848.

Augustus R. Hall and Caroline Alford were married September 14th, 1847.

Olivia, daughter of Augustus R. and Caroline Hall was born September 1st, 1848 and died October 16th, 1858.

Zachary Taylor, son of Augustus R. and Caroline Hall was born July 9th, 1850.

Joseph Augustus, son of Augustus R. and Caroline was born June 15th, 1852 and died June 25th, 1873.

Harry Basil, son of Augustus R. and Caroline Hall was born December 26th, 1854.

Walter Ferdinand, son of Augustus R. and Caroline Hall was born December 4th, 1856.

Willis Edward, son of Augustus R. and Caroline Hall was born July 20th, 1860.

Caroline Alford Gardiner, daughter of Augustus R. and Caroline Hall was born September 15th, 1864.

Zachary Taylor Hall and Sophia Roberts were married November 13th, 1879.

Evans Roberts, son of Zachary Taylor and Sophia Hall was born August 16th, 1880.

Haslett Gardiner, son of Zachary Taylor and Sophia Hall was born December 14th, 1882.

Zachary Taylor son of Zachary Taylor and Sophia Hall was born August 7th, 1884.

Walter Ferdinand Hall and George Annie Benners Stouffer were married May 18th, 1882.

Catharine Benners, daughter of Walter Ferdinand and George Annie Benners Hall was born April 15th, 1883.

[Note A.]

John Hall was the only surviving child of Robert Hall, of St. Margaret's Parish, in the city of Westminster, England, who (with his wife, Elizabeth, and their two children, Elizabeth and George, both of whom died

[1] Abraham Gardiner was the second son of Thomas and Susanna (Elton) Gardiner, and a descendant of Thomas Gardiner, Jr., the first Speaker of the General Assembly of East and West New Jersey. A full account of his ancestry will appear in the "White Ancestry."

in early childhood) immigrated to Pennsylvania, taking up a tract of five hundred acres on the Neshaminy Creek, in Middletown township, Bucks County. Tradition credits him with having been a passenger on the "Welcome," or on one of the vessels of Penn's fleet, which left England August 31, 1682, and arrived at New Castle, on the Delaware, October 27, 1682. In a register of children of members of the Middletown Monthly Meeting, born in England, the birth of his son George is recorded as having taken place April 18, 1682, though the English records place his birth on the same date in September of that year. The latter is probably the correct date, as in the register of births of the Middletown Monthly Meeting his youngest child, the original owner of the Bible from which the preceding records are taken, is incorrectly styled Robert, Jr., it being clearly proved by the entry in the family Bible and a deed recorded at Doylestown, in Bucks County, that his name should be John.[1]

Robert Hall was elected one of the Representatives of the county of Bucks in the Provincial Assembly, March 10, 168⅞, re-elected in 1687 and 1688, and appointed coroner of the county in 1685, being the first incumbent of that office, which he retained until his decease, March 28, 1688. He married, first, October 17, 1678, Sarah Buterton, of Hounsditch, London, who died on the 16th of the next month; and, secondly, May 26, 1680, Elizabeth, daughter of George and Elizabeth White, of Bucklebury, County Berks, England, who married, secondly, in 1690, Stephen Newell, of Bucks County, Pennsylvania.

The Whites of Bucklebury, a parish near Reading, in the county of Berks, appear to have occupied a good position among the yeomanry of the neighborhood, and were probably related to the heraldic family of the same name residing at Fifield in the same county, but originally of Reading, one of whose members was Sir Thomas White, Kt., Lord Mayor of London in 1554, and founder of St. John's College, Oxford, as the names of George and Francis were great favorites with both families.

Humphrey White, of Bucklebury, was the second son of Maud White, "late, whilst she lived, of Sparshalt, within the county and archdeaconry of Berks, widdow," who died in 1634. He died in 1639, his will being dated and proved in that year, and still preserved among the probate records of the archdeaconry of Berks. He left a widow, Joan, and seven children,—Simon, Roger, Humphrey, Thomas, George, Joan, Elizabeth.

George White, of Bucklebury (youngest son of Humphrey and Joan), was among the early converts to Quakerism, and a frequent sufferer, both in person and estate, for his religious belief, being excommunicated in 1678, twice imprisoned, the last time in 1684, for refusing to take an oath, and having considerable sums of money taken from him in 1683 and 1686 to satisfy claims for corn-tithes. His daughter Elizabeth, who married Robert Hall, having settled in Pennsylvania, he obtained a certificate from the Monthly Meeting of Friends at Newberry, intending to remove

[1] Book IV. p. 104.

to that province, but was prevented by his imprisonment, as appears by the certificate, which was dated 8th month 19, 1683, and signed by fifteen persons on the 21st of that month, when he was confined in the jail at Reading. It was not until the year 1687 when his certificate was again read at a monthly meeting held at Ore on the 21st of the 4th month, and signed by the members then present, that, having some time previously purchased fifteen hundred acres in Pennsylvania, he immigrated to that province with his entire family, settling in Middletown township, Bucks County, where he died September 15, 1688, leaving a widow, Elizabeth, who died in 1699, her will being dated September 11, and proved November 10 of that year. They had nine children,—John, their eldest son; Humphrey, buried December 9, 1675; Elizabeth, wife of Robert Hall; Sarah, wife of —— Huett; Peter, born August 3, 1663, married Elizabeth English; William, born May 5, 1666; Francis, of Middletown township, born May 10, 1668; Joseph, born April 13, 1670; Benjamin, born April 19, 1676.

[Note B.]

James Radcliffe, of Chapel Hill, in Rosendale, County Lancaster, England (probably brother to John Radcliffe, born in 1657, son of Richard and Alice Radcliffe, of Rosendale), married, June 1, 1673, the widow Mary Rawthorpe at her own house in Olden; became a minister of the Society of Friends, and in 1685 immigrated to Bucks County, in Pennsylvania, where he died March 29, 1690, leaving four children,—Richard, born June 8, 1675; Edward, born October 14, 1678; Rachel, born April 16, 1682; Rebecca, first wife of John Hall, born January 11, 1684.

[Note C.]

John Baldwin, yeoman, settled in Philadelphia County prior to July, 1686, but shortly after that date removed to Makefield township, in the county of Bucks, finally settling in the town of Bristol in the latter county, where he died in November, 1714, having married, December 19, 1689, Sarah, daughter of Samuel and Mary Allen, who was born at Chew Magna, County Somerset, England, July 17, 1667. They had five children,—Mary; Sarah, married, in January, 1715, John Hall; John; Richard; Joseph.

Samuel Allen, of Chew Magna, arrived at Chester, in Pennsylvania, December 11, 1681, being a passenger on the ship "Bristol Factor," and settled on the Neshaminy Creek, in Bucks County, from whence he removed to Philadelphia, where he died in November, 1710.

[Note D.]

In the latter part of the seventeenth century four persons of the name of Atkinson settled in Pennsylvania, viz.: Thomas, of whom hereafter; his brother John; James, who arrived at Philadelphia from Ireland in December, 1682; and Christopher, who settled in Bucks County in 1699,

bringing a certificate for himself and family from the Monthly Meeting at Lancaster, in England.

Thomas Atkinson, of Newby, County York, England, an early convert to Quakerism and a preacher in that Society, immigrated to Pennsylvania in 1682, settling in Northampton township, Bucks County, where he died in October, 1682, leaving a widow, Jane, and three sons, —Isaac, William, and Samuel.

William Atkinson (second son of Thomas and Jane) resided in the borough of Bristol, served one term as a member of the common council, and was eleven years collector of the excise. He was for thirty-three years an elder of the Falls Monthly Meeting, holding that office at his decease, October 29, 1749. He married, first, April 6, 1704, Mary, daughter of Richard Hough, a native of Macclesfield, County Chester, England, and one of the representatives of Bucks County in the Provincial Assembly. She died November 11, 1720, and he married, secondly, June 5, 1722, Margaret, daughter of Henry and Margaret Baker, who died in December, 1748, aged fifty-five years. William Atkinson had eleven children, six of whom were by his first wife. Their births are recorded in the registers of the Falls Monthly Meeting. His second child, Hannah, was born January 25, 1706, and in May, 1734, became the third wife of John Hall.

[Note E.]

John Hall, of Bristol (who had been previously referred to in the Bible and in Note A) was an active member of the Falls Monthly Meeting, frequently serving as a delegate to the Quarterly Meeting, and an influential inhabitant of the town, being one of the principal persons instrumental in obtaining from the crown a charter, dated November 14, 1720, erecting Bristol into a royal borough, and constituting Joseph Bond and John Hall burgesses. He served as chief burgess for the ensuing seven years, and was again elected to that office in 1733, '38, '39, '40, '41, '45, '46, and '61; serving as a member of the common council in 1747, '48, and '62. In 1717 he represented Bucks County in the Provincial Assembly, and was commissioned sheriff and justice of the peace, serving the county in the latter capacity for seven years, and being again commissioned sheriff in 1718, '20, '21, '22, and '33. He was also collector of the excise for six years. In 1740 he went to the Assembly again and remained there as the representative of his county for eight consecutive years, being re-elected in 1749 and '50. He was by trade a cooper, and was also at one time interested in Langhorn's Mills, in Middletown township, his partners in that venture being Charles Plumley, of Middletown, and Edward Roberts, of Bristol,—the latter a miller.

[Note F.]

Joseph Church, of Bristol, was probably the son of Edward Church, of the same place, spoken of as old and infirm in 1777. He served as a

member of the common council in 1760, '62, and '63, and died in December, 1784, leaving two sons, Edward and Joseph, both of whom are mentioned in his will, which was dated November 1, 1784, and proved January 7, 1785.

Edward Church, of Bristol, died shortly after his father, having married, in 1765, Sarah, daughter of Thomas and Prudence Antrim, of Burlington County, New Jersey, who died in May, 1797, her will being dated June 29, 1795, and proved May 30, 1797. They had three children, William, Samuel, and Rebecca, the latter of whom married Thomas Hall, of Bristol, who in 1806 removed to Burlington, New Jersey.

DIARY OF THE HON. WILLIAM ELLERY, OF RHODE ISLAND.—OCTOBER 20 TO NOVEMBER 15, 1777.

CONTRIBUTED BY MISS HENRIETTA C. ELLERY, NEWPORT, R. I.

[We are indebted to the courtesy of Miss H. C. Ellery for copies of a series of diaries kept by her grandfather during his journeys to and from Congress, the first of which we print in this number.—ED.]

Journey from Dighton, in Massachusetts Bay, to York, in the State of Pennsylvania, begun October 20th, 1777, and concluded November 15th, in company with Judge Dana.

Sat out from Dighton in Mass: Bay in Comp^y with the Honble Francis Dana Esq.[1] Oct 20th 1777 at half past One,—arrived at my good old friend, Abraham Redwood Esq[2] in North Providence in the Evening and was detained there the next day by a Storm.

22*nd.*—Rode to Judge Greene's[3]—Warwick—to dine, and reached Judge Potters So. Kingston in ye Evening.

23*rd.*—Last Night it was said Cannon were heard towards Newport. Drank Tea with Mr Champlin, whose Wife was ill of a sore throat.

24*th.*—The weather was lowering and that and the Prospect of hearing something of the Newport Exped^n detained us at Judge Potters. This Day had a Confirmation of the glorious News of the Surrendry of the Col. of the Queens Light Dragoons[4] with his whole Army. Learn hence proud

[1] Francis Dana, the eminent jurist, son of Richard Dana, of Cambridge, Mass., and son-in-law of Mr. Ellery.

[2] Founder of the Redwood Library of Newport, R. I.

[3] William Greene, Chief Justice, and Governor of Rhode Island from 1778 to 1786.

[4] Gen. John Burgoyne.

Mortals the ignominious End of the vain boaster! Gave a Spur to Spencer by Letter.

25*th.*—The Weather still lowering and wet; abode at Judge Potters.—Saw the New London paper which certified the News of Burgoyne's Surrendry. Not a word of the Newport Expedition.

26*th.*—Still dark and lowering. The weather unfit for journeying. Good Quarters in a Storm takes off its force, and renders it less disagreeable. Remained still at Judge Potters.

27*th.*—The Storm brews, the Wind increasing and the Rain.

28*th.*—The Storm tremendous. F. D. in the course of the last Six Days hath devoured Six Quarts of Apples & Milk.

29*th.*—Storm abated but the Weather still foul and unfit for travelling—More Apples & Milk.

30*th.*—Fair Weather. We sat off.—Judge Potter accompanied us to Mr Marchant's and until the Road by Mr Marchant's meets the great Country Road to Little Rest, where we parted. Before we sat out left a Letter for General Whipple and my Wife. Dined pretty well at Brown's a private house in Hopkinton, about 13 or 14 miles from Judge Potters. After dinner rode to Tylers which is now a private House opposite to the Revd [Levi] Hart's Meeting House. Drank a Dish of Coffee in the Evening and were waited upon by a good female Body who was almost consumed with the Hysterics of Religion—*vide*, Dr. Lardner's Credibility of the Gospel History.

31*st.*—Breakfasted at Lathrop's in Norwich.[1] Were obliged to ride round North about, on Account of the Bridge being out of Repair. Dined late in the Afternoon at Jesse Billings, my Tennant in Colchester;[2] from thence rode to Wrights, a Tavern opposite the Meeting House, where we lodged tolerably well. The Night before and this Day had the Tooth-ache to a great Degree; it went off in the Evening and I had a comfortable Night.

[1] The Inn of Azariah Lathrop.

[2] Mr. Ellery owned a large farm in the township.

Nov. 1*st.*—Passed on a good Road from Colchester to Hartford, about 30 miles. Bated in Hebron, at Dewells, 12 miles from Wrights, passed through Bolton, dined at Woodbridges in E. Hartford on good roasted Beef, (8 miles from Dewells); from thence to Bulls[1] in Hartford 10 miles. Lodged there Saturday and Lordsday Nights.

In Hebron met Dr [John] Bartlet Surgeon Gen[l] of the N. Army, who had shattered his Arm by a Fall from a fence, and was returning Home. He told us that the Enemy had gone down the North River, and that Sir James Wallace commanded the Fleet on that Expedition, which was a mistake. At Hartford saw a Cont[l] officer who told me that Dr Bartlet had not acted as Surgeon Gen[l] of the Army since Gen[l] Gates took the Command,—that there was some misunderstanding between him and some of the medical Gentlemen, and that a Dr Tillochson[2] had officiated as Surgeon Gen[l] of the Army. We spent the Sabbath at Hartford. In the afternoon heard Mr [Nathan] Strong preach a good Sermon, and most melodious singing. The Psalmody was performed in all its Parts, and Softness more than Loudness seemed to be the Aim of the Performers. In the Evening waited upon Gov. Trumbull, and was pleased to find so much Quickness of Apprehension in so old a Gentleman. Connecticut have collected, and ordered Taxes to the Amount of One hundred thousand Pounds more than they had issued. —Brave Spirits!

3*rd.*—Left Hartford and bated at Farmington at Lewis's about 12 miles from Hartford; from thence rode to Yale's 12 miles, where Mr. F. D. dined on Three Pints of Milk and Cake lightened with Scraps, and W. E. dined on Bread and Milk Punch. From thence rode through Herrington[3] over the worst road I ever passed to Litchfield, where we lodged with Gen[l] [Oliver] Wolcott, and were kindly entertained. He had lately returned from the Northern Army, where he commanded a Number—300 I think—of Volun-

[1] The "Bunch of Grapes Tavern," kept by David Bull.
[2] Dr. Thomas Tillotson, of New York.
[3] *Query.* Harwinton.

teers, which he had collected by his Influence. He gave us an account of the Surrendry of the menacing Meteors, which after a most portentous Glare had evaporated into Smoke—Gov Livingston's Speech to the Assembly, Fishkill Papers Sept 4th—and gave it as his opinion that the Army under Genl Gates at the Time of ye Capitulation did not exceed 12.000 Men.

4th.—Left Litchfield about nine o'clock, passed over Mount Tom and through a sloughy road to Flower's in part of New Milford where we dined. Flower's is 12 miles from Litchfield. Rode to Camp's about 12 miles from Flower's where we lodged comfortably. The Bridges along this road from Hartford are some of them entirely destroyed, and all of them out of Repair, owing to the constant passing of heavy loaded Wagons and the late heavy Storm. On our Way to Flower's we passed over Shepaug a long crazy Bridge, and between Flower's and Camp's over Housatonic Bridge, which was held together by a few Wedges. After we left Shepaug Bridge, the Road to Camp's was good.

5th.—Rode to Danbury where we breakfasted at a private House, after having visited every Inn for Accommodation but in vain: some were crowded with Soldiers, and others void of every necessary article of Entertainment. Danbury is eleven miles from Camp's. We intended when we left Litchfield to have gone to Peekskill, and there to have crossed the North River; but, when we got to Danbury, were dissuaded from it by the Person at whose house we breakfasted; who told us that there were Tories and Horse-Stealers on that Road. This acct. and it being late in the Forenoon that it was impossible to reach Peekskill by Night, and not being able to procure a Lodging in Danbury, occasioned Us to take the Fishkill Road. Accordingly we sat off, bated at the Foot of Quaker Hill, about 7 miles from Danbury, and reached Col Ludintons 8 miles from the foregoing Stage at Night. Here *Mens meminisse horret!* we were told by our Landlady the Col. was gone to New Windsor, that there was a Guard on the Road between Fishkill and Peekskill, that one of the Guard had been killed

about six miles off, and that a Man not long before had been shot at on the Road to Fishkill not more than 3 miles from their House; and that a Guard had been placed there for some time past and had been dismissed only three Days. We were in a doleful Pickle, not a Male in the House but Don Quixote and his Man Sancho and poor Pill Garlick, and no Lodging for the first and last but in a lower Room without any Shutters to the Windows or Locks to the Doors. —What was to be done? What could be done? In the first Place we fortified our Stomachs with Beef Steak and Grogg, and then went to work to fortify ourselves against an Attack. The Knight of the Woeful Countenance asked whether there were any Guns in the House. Two were produced. One of them in good Order. Nails were fixed over the Windows, the Guns placed in a Corner of the Room, a Pistol under each of our Pillows, and the Hanger against the Bed Post;—thus accoutred and prepared at all Points, our Heroes went to bed. Whether the valiant Knight slept a Wink or not Pill Garlick cannot say, for he was so overcome with fatigue and his animal Spirits were so solaced with the Beef and Grogg, that every Trace of Fear was utterly erased from his Imagination, and he slept soundly from Evening 'till Morning without any Interruption, save that about Midnight he fancieth, He was waked by his Companion with this interesting Question delivered with a tremulous Voice; What Noise is that? He listened and soon discovered that the Noise was occasioned by some Rats gnawing the Head of a bread Cask. After satisfying the Knight about the Noise, He took his second and finishing Nap. It rained and snowed through the next Day.

6th.—We cont[d] at Ludinton's until the afternoon, when the Fire-wood being gone and not thinking it prudent to run the hazard another Night, in so dangerous a Situation, we mounted our Rozinantes and set off for Adriance's. Just as we mounted it began to snow, however we pushed on and soon reached that Stage, it being but five miles on, in tolerable Order. We were ushered into a Room where there was a good fire, drank a Dish of Tea and were entertained during

great Part of the Evening with the Musick of the Spinning Wheel, and Wool-Cards and the Sound of the Shoemakers Hammer; for Adriance had his Shoemakers Bench, his Wife her great Wheel and their Girl her Wool-Cards, in the Room where we sat. This might be disagreeable to your delicate Macaroni Gentry; but by elevating our Voices a little, we could and did keep up Conversation amidst the Musick; and the Reflection on the Advantages resulting from Manufactures, joined to the Good nature of our Landlord & his Wife, made the Evening pass off very agreeably. Indeed if the House of Adriance was more convenient than it is, I could enjoy myself there as well as at Johnston's in Bethlehem.

7th.—Breakfasted at Adriance's and sat off for Fishkill where we arrived at Noon. Could get no Provender for our Horses, but at the Cont[l]. Stables. Waited upon Gen[l]. Putnam who was packing up, and just about setting off for White Plains. Chatted with him awhile and then put off for the Cont[l] Ferry at the North River. Fishkill is eleven miles from Adriance's and the Ferry six miles from Fishkill. In our way to the Ferry we met President Hancock in a Sulkey, escorted by one of his Secy's and two or three other Gentlemen, and one Light-horseman. This Escort surprised us as it seemed inadequate to the Purpose either of Defence or Parade. But our Surprise was not of long Continuance, for we had not rode far before we met six or eight Light-horsemen on the Cantor and just as we reached the Ferry, a Boat arrived with as many more. These with the Light-horsemen and the Gentlemen before mentioned made up the Escort of Mr. President Hancock.[1]—Who would not be a great Man? I verily believe that the President, as he passes through the Country thus escorted, feels a more triumphant Satisfaction than the Col. of the Queen's Light Dragoons attended by his whole Army and an Escort of a thousand Militia.

We had a pleasant Time across the Ferry, and jogged on

[1] John Hancock passed through Bethlehem on 2d inst., escorted by fifteen dragoons.

to Major Dubois[1] a Tavern about 9 or 10 miles from thence, where we put up for the Night. We were well entertained, had a good Dish of Tea, and a good Beef-steak. We had neither ate or drank before since we breakfasted. Dr. [Manasseh] Cutler invited us to dine with him at Fishkill but it was not dinner Time and we were anxious to pass Hudson and get on.

8*th.*—Breakfasted at Dubois and bated at Jackson's a very good Tavern 10 miles from Dubois; from thence to Hathorn's[2] where we dined is 10 miles, from thence to Carey's,[3] 17 miles where we lodged. This was a long Stage, but a good House which we could not have reached in Season if we had stopped to bate between it and Hathorn's. We spent a very agreeable Evening in Company with B. G. Morris, who had taken Lodgings there until his Farm House, which was three miles east from thence, should be fitted up.

9*th.*—Breakfasted at Hoffman's near Sussex Court House and 10 or 12 miles from Carey's; from thence rode to Willis, Log-Jail, where we dined.[4] Willis is 10 miles from Hoffman's and from thence to Cary's is 17 miles, where we lodged.[5] We rode this long Stage for the same Reason we made a long Stage the Day before.

10*th.*—Breakfasted at Cary's and rode 12 miles to Easton where we bated. We passed the Delaware with Gen[l] Fermoy[6] without making ourselves known to him. From Easton we rode in the Rain to Bethlehem for the Sake of good Accommodation, and were visited by Mr. Edwine[7]

[1] See Eager's Orange County, p. 538 *et seq.*

[2] See Penna. Mag., Vol. X. p. 370.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid., p. 369.

[5] Ibid.

[6] M. A. R. de Fermoy, French Engineer, was commissioned 4 Nov., 1776, a Brigadier General by Congress. He returned to France in January of 1778. Wilkinson says, "This man, like De Woedtke, turned out a worthless drunkard, although he wore the cross de St. Louis."

[7] For memoir of Bishop John Ettwein, a distinguished clergyman of the American Province of the Moravian Church, see Trans. Moravian Hist. Soc., Vol. II. p. 247 *et seq.*

one of the Ministers of the Moravian Society who had been so kind as to show me the public Buildings when I was at Bethlehem the last June. When Congress were here in their Way to York, they ordered that the House of the single Women should not be occupied by the Soldiery or in any Way put to the use of the Army; and that as little Disturbance as possible should be given to this peaceful Society, which Mr. Edwine took Notice of with great gratitude.[1] A Number of sick and wounded were here, a considerable Quantity of Baggage and Guards;[2] And a Number of Light-horse[3] were at Nazareth, feeding on the Hay and Grain of the Society, which I found was disagreeable; but at the same time perceived that they did not chuse to complain much lest their Complaints should be thought to proceed not so

[1] Henry Laurens commissioned Richard Henry Lee to issue the following order:

"BETHLEHEM, September 22 1777.

"Having here observed a diligent attention to the sick and wounded, and a benevolent desire to make the necessary provision for the relief of the distressed as far as the power of the brethren enable them,

"We desire that all Continental officers may refrain from disturbing the persons or property of the Moravians, and particularly, that they do not disturb or molest the houses where the women are assembled.

"Given under our hands at the time and place above mentioned

"JOHN HANCOCK,	RICHARD HENRY LEE,
SAMUEL ADAMS,	HENRY LAURENS,
JAMES DUANE,	WILLIAM DUER,
NATHAN BROWNSON,	CORNELIUS HARNETT,
NATHANIEL FOLSOM,	JOSEPH JONES,
RICHARD LAW,	JOHN ADAMS,
ELIPHALET DYER,	WILLIAM WILLIAMS,
HENRY MERCHANT,	Delegates to Congress."

[2] On Sept. 19 Dr. Jackson arrived with a letter from Medical Director-General Dr. William Shippen, that by order of Congress he was compelled to send some of his sick and wounded to Bethlehem. The following day the Brethren's House (present middle building of the Female Seminary) was evacuated and prepared for their reception. On Sept. 23 seven hundred and the 25th two hundred baggage-wagons, under guard of two hundred soldiers commanded by Col. Polk, of North Carolina, arrived and were parked near the Sun Tavern.

[3] One hundred and twenty dragoons of Colonels Bland's and White's Virginia Cavalry.

much from their sufferings as from a Dislike to the American Cause. This People like the Quakers are principled against bearing Arms; but are unlike them in this respect, they are not against paying such Taxes as Government may order them to pay towards carrying on War, and do not, I believe, in a sly underhand Way aid and assist the Enemy while they cry Peace, Peace, as the Manner of some Quakers, is, not to impeach the whole Body of them.

11*th*.—Cont[d] at Bethlehem, the Weather being very cold & the Wind high, and our Horses wanting rest, and to have their Shoes repaired.—Fared exceedingly well, drank excellent Madeira, and fine Green Tea, and ate a Variety of well cooked Food of a good Quality and lodged well.

12*th*.—Bated at Snell's,[1] 9 miles, and ate a tolerable Veal Cutlet. Snell is a good Whig. From thence to Levans[2] about 15 miles from Snell's where we lodged. Here we met Col Brown,[3] and four other New England Men. Brown gave us an account of his Expedition to Ti.[conderoga] and of the Mode of Surrendry of the vaunting Burgoyne.—The fore part of this Day was filled with Snow Squalls which proved peculiarly irksome to Mr. Dana's Servant, whose Surtout was stolen from him the Evening before at Johnson's by some Soldiers, the afternoon was comfortable but the Evening was windy and exceedingly cold. The Room in which we sat and lodged admitted the cold air at a thousand chinks, and our narrow Bed had on it only a thin Rug and one Sheet. We went to bed almost completely dressed but even that would not do. It was so cold that I could not sleep. What would I not have given to have been by my Fireside. I wished a thousand Times that the old Fellow had our Landlady. Our fellow Lodgers suffered as much as we did, and if they had read Tristam Shandy's

[1] *Query*. John Schnell, of Upper Milford township, now Lehigh County.

[2] See Penna. Mag., Vol. X. p. 210.

[3] Col. John Brown, of Massachusetts, who, on September 18, 1777, surprised the outposts of Ticonderoga, freed one hundred American prisoners of war, captured four companies of regulars, a quantity of stores and cannon, and destroyed a large number of boats.

Chapter of Curses, and had remembered it would have cursed her through his whole Catalogue of Curses. What added to the Infamousness of this Tavern was the extreme Squalidity of the Rooms, Beds, and every Utensil. I will conclude my Story of this Sink of Filth & Abomination with a Circumstance which, while it shows that our dirty Landlady had some Idea of Neatness, must excite a contemptuous smile. The Table on which we were to breakfast was so inexpressibly nasty, that we begged she would put a clean napkin on it, to which this *simplex munditiis* objected that the Coffee might dirty the Cloth.—I intended to have finished here, but the Avarice of this Mass of Filth was as great as her Sluttishness,—was so great that I cannot forbear noticing it. Notwithstanding that we had nothing of her but a bit of a Hock of Pork, boiled a second Time, and some Bread and Butter—We found our own Tea & Coffee, and Hay & Oats for the Horses—this Daughter of Lycurgus charged for Mr Dana, myself and Servant, thirty-eight Shillings lawful Money!

13*th*.—Met Mr Samuel and Mr John Adams[1] about 9 miles from Levan's, and hard by a Tavern.—They turned back to the Inn where we chatted, and ate Bread & Butter together. They were to my great Sorrow bound home. I could not but lament that Congress should be without their councils and myself without their conversation. We reached Reading where we put up at one Hartman's[2] near the Court house, in the middle of the afternoon. It was with great Difficulty that we could get a Lodging. We were obliged to lodge in the same Room with a curious crazy genius. We went to bed about 9 O'clock. About half-past ten, in came the genius thundering. He stamped across the Room several Times, and then vociferated for the boot-jack. He pulled off his boots hummed over a Tune, lighted up his Pipe, smoked a few whiffs, took his Pen and Ink and began to write, when there was a keen rapping at our Chamber Door.

[1] See "The Life and Works of John Adams," Vol. III. p. 88 *et seq.*

[2] John Hartman's name appears in the list of innkeepers of Reading, Berks County, as early as 1762.

He turned his head towards the Door and was silent. Immediately the Door was forced open, and such a Scene presented as would have intimidated any Person of less heroism than F. D. and W. E. In rushed a Serjeant's Guard with fixed Bayonets and arrested the Genius. All was confusion. There was 'Damn your Blood Sir, 'what do you mean'? I arrest you Sir; seize his papers. 'Gen[l] Mifflin'—'Warrant'—'Challenge'—Let me put on my Cloaths. I'll go with you to Gen[l] Mifflin. You shall go to a House twenty times as good for you. I'll take care of you. After some time we found that our cracked Genius had challenged Gen[l] Mifflin and therefore was arrested. They took him away, but he had not been gone long, before he returned to the House cursing and swearing, and was locked up in another chamber. Two Officers who were in Bed in that Chamber were obliged to decamp to make Way for him and took his Bed in our Room. The Knight of redoubted Valour, had at his Return got up dressed himself and told the Officer of the Guard, that he had put the Genius into a Passion, and that he must not be put into our Room to disturb us, which occasioned his Quarters being shipped. The Two Officers before mentioned told us that the Genius when he was enraged as he then was, was a ferocious Creature, and that We might expect that he would attempt to recover his old Lodging before Morning. The Landlady, her Daughter and Maids were all roused and had got up the Landlord, and Pill Garlick kept snug in bed, all the females and the Knight were busily employed half an hour in putting the Lock of our Door in order. When that was effected the Knight put his Pistols under his head, his hanger in the Chair near the bed, and then came to bed. In the Morning early the Genius rose, strutted about his Prison hummed over a Tune in seeming good humor. After some time was discharged, came into our Room asked our Pardon for the Disturbance he had occasioned and offered us some of his Loaf Sugar to sweeten our Tea. He then waited on Gen[l] Mifflin returned and said he was a clever fellow; but swore damn him that he would go and kill the Officer of the Guard if he could

find him. Out he went, but what became of him I know not; for we set off, but I believe he killed nobody.

14*th.*—Crossed the Schuylkill dined at Miller's[1] near the Town of Ephrata *al' dic.* Dunkard's Town and lodged at Lititz,[2] a little Moravian Settlement, where we lodged in Clover. We lodged in Cabins[3] about 3 feet wide, a straw bed was at the bottom, a feather bed on that, Sheets; a thin feather Bed supplied the Place of Blankets, and a neat Calico Coverlid covered all; and our Lodging Room was kept warm, during the Night by a neat earthen Stove which in Form resembled a Case of Drawers.[4]

15*th.*—Crossed Anderson's Ferry[5] which is 17 miles from Lititz about noon, and in the afternoon reached York Town which is 10 miles from the Ferry and so finished our Journey of four hundred and fifty miles.

[1] Miller's Tavern was located at the cross-roads, half a mile west of Ephrata.

[2] In Warwick township, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. The town was laid out in 1756.

[3] Low wooden bedsteads for one person; in winter provided with "sideboards" to prevent the bedclothes falling off a restless occupant.

[4] For a drawing of one of these tile-stoves, preserved in the Hall of the Moravian Historical Society, at Nazareth, Pa., see Dr. Edward Eggleston's "Church and Meeting-House before the Revolution," Century Magazine, Vol. XXXIII. p. 906.

[5] The first ferry above Wright's Ferry (Columbia), on the Susquehanna.

CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE OF GERMANTOWN.

CONTRIBUTED BY HAMILTON B. TOMPKINS, ESQ., NEW YORK.

The *Newport Gazette* of Thursday, November 6, 1777, contains the following:

"Extract of a letter from an officer in General Washington's Army, dated Camp Near, Skippack, October 6, 1777.

"'I steal amidst the bustle of war, a minute as a moments warning to relate to you and other friends a late manuevre, in short to prevent your being perplexed with exaggerated accounts painted in false colors.

"'On the 3d. instant about 8 o'clock P.M. a large detachment from the enemy received orders to march with a number of field pieces from the park of artillery, exclusive of the train belonging to each brigade. After marching the whole night, at the day dawn we arrived at Germantown, about 8 miles from Philadelphia where the main body of the British army lay; the disposition of our troops was immediately made, the attack begun rather before the sun rose, from all quarters an incessent fire continued for five hours and ten minutes. The crackling of thorns under a pot, and incessent peals of thunder only can convey the idea of their cannon and musketry. The enemy, who were encamped on each side of the town, about a mile in length, with the infantry, picket guard, horse &c., soon gave us the ground from all parts; repeated huzzas were heard from our people who took possessions of their encampments, tents &c., We thought the day our own but every house in the town soon became a garrison for British troops, who put their high field pieces into the chambers; (the houses built with stone were proof against small arms), the town lying low, it being a foggy morning, the smoke of the fire of cannon and

musketry, the smoke of several fields of stubble, hay and other combustibles, which the enemy fired combined, made such a midnight darkness that great part of the time there was no discovering friend from foe but by the direction of the shot, and no other object but the flash of the gun, this Situation to the enemy's advantage, who knew perfectly well the ground, to which our general and troops were total strangers with other misfortunes, finally broke, repeatedly broke our troops, the event of which was a retreat, which word I hope God Almighty will soon enable us to exchange for that of victory; but I fear the chastisement is not yet sufficient to answer the great design of heaven; but I firmly believe our cause is just and will finally prevail. The retreat in general was safe and good, though attended with some confusion, as you may judge from the situation. The army is now returned to the old encampment, our brigade being on one of the flanks; the road being intercepted we came off within about six miles from Philadelphia on which tour we guarded 283 fine fat cattle brought from and near the enemy's lines arrived last evening much fatigued but have some good beef to recruit on.

"'As the killed and wounded returns are now making up; I will not venture to say in the whole, but by the best accounts through the camp in way of conversation with gentlemen, I calmly think it will not exceed 500, and it is the judgment of many it will fall much short; truth will soon be known; from my Regiment my return this minute made, is 22 Killed, Wounded and Missing. D Key's and Swift's are much short of this, Bradley's something more—but men are coming in who faned (probably fainted) through fatigue, —hope many missing will return. Our people brought in a few prisoners and some baggage. How many and how much I can't rightly say. Between 3 and 4000 men are hourly expected from Virginia and 1100 from Peck's Kill. Our men are not dejected nor disheartened, vengeance burns in every breast, and we shall undoubtedly very soon be at them again. I can't but sincerely wish the country would lay aside, for a while extortion and lying, and put in practice in the field

what they do by the fireside, getting victories, and raising armies, and putting an end to that which by delay, deceit &c., &c. is wasting the country and wetting the field with human blood. As to other matters I have not time to write, the post now waiting. Our people keep the forts and chiveaux de frize in the river, so that the shipping hath not yet got up to Philadelphia.

"'Thee and Thou in Philadelphia, now find a religion will not serve, that doth not turn weathercock like; they begin to say to each other, Will Thee take a gun?—hope. Thee will appear in the field.'"

EXTRACTS FROM ORIGINAL LETTERS RELATING TO THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE AND CORNWALLIS'S CAPITULATION AT YORKTOWN.

CONTRIBUTED BY EUGENE DEVEREUX.

The subject of retaliation having been discussed by the British officers, Sir Henry Clinton wrote to Lord Cathcart, February 12, 1781, "Not a word from Europe since October. Dont be sanguine. Military retaliation cannot be. They have 12,000 to our 5000 Prisoners."

Governor Andrew Elliot, in a letter to Lord Cathcart, dated N. Y., May 13, 1781, mentions the naval affair at Chesapeake, and adds, "It is no secret the General does complain of the Admiral" . . . "I always dread people of rank going home. Man is man and acts and speaks according to his own feelings, views and ideas. Alarm is soon taken at home; a few words, as a match, soon springs a mine." After alluding to Lord Cornwallis and his position, he says, "I always thought marching through a country to get friends a bad scheme, because an army must distress, and private feeling usually outweighs public spirit."

He then goes on to speak of "the riot of the Dog" (?) . . . and "After the Dog affair, I have just heard a mahogany coffin was filled with paper dollars, (which coffin) numbers followed to the grave, there was deposited forever Continental Money. I am glad it so ended, it would have been troublesome had it existed until Peace was restored. The Chief Carpenters in future work for hard money only. The Jersey men refused to march till they got specie. The spirit of damning paper Money prevails. Eastwards and westwards discontents increase."

He wrote under date of May 24, 1781: . . . "Sir Henry (Clinton) says Green's check from Lord Rawdon is of great

consequence. I have no high opinion of the Southern Militia: to make them good will require time and change of climate."

June 11, 1781, referring to an expected attack, he writes, "I am as you know no military man but common sense is my standard. Washington and others determine New York should be attacked, the prospect of plunder will favorably affect the Northern Militia. I always thought this plan would be adopted." . . . "Your friend *Cochran* is here . . . his schemes are wonderful, he tells me Lord Stormont, Germain, North, etc. have seen them, all this is foolish, I wish the poor man well for he is really pleasant and agreeable. I would rather Independence than his plan."

In August, Lord Cornwallis was ordered by Sir Henry Clinton to retire to Yorktown, where he entrenched. Washington marched southward, and a large French fleet under De Grasse appeared on the coast. On August 31 he arrived in Chesapeake Bay, and soon after beat off Admiral Graves. September 28 Yorktown was completely invested.

Sir Henry Clinton wrote to Lord Cathcart, New York, September, 1781, "Washington has passed the North river," and expresses anxiety to relieve Lord Cornwallis; "to save him the Navy must aid."

Sir Henry Clinton to Lord Cathcart:

"H. M. S. LOUDON OFF CHESAPEAK Octr 29, 1781

"We sailed from New York on the 19th, arrived off the Chesapeak on the 24th, almost a fortnight too late as we all believe. Lord Cornwallis capitulated on the 17th. He was lost for want of the promised naval superiority under Sir G. Rodney. Such has been Lord Cornwallis' fate and will be the fate, I have repeatedly told the Ministers, of every post if the enemy remain superior at sea."

Governor Andrew Elliot to Lord Cathcart, November 8, 1781:

"The fleet was not ready to sail from the Hook until the 19th Oct$^{'r}$: on the 13th (? 23rd) the General (Clinton) and Admiral (Graves) received (off Chesapeake) the account of the surrender on the 19th, the very day the fleet sailed. Our

fleet consisted of 27 sail of the Line, 2 of only four guns (?) 8 frigates, 5 sloops and 4 fire ships. They, three days after, drove the French Frigates into Chesapeak and showed themselves to the French fleet, who notwithstanding made no movement towards an action, although on two days the wind favoured. Our fleet returned and landed the troops. We hear this day Admiral Graves sails for Jamaica, Sir S. Hood to the West Indies, it is said with part of Admiral Digby's Squadron. I can't say exactly of what number the French fleet consisted, but certainly in numbers of ships of various denominations it considerably exceeded ours. We are surprised our Fleet should leave on this Coast the French fleet, whose intentions are unknown. Our fleet was lumbered up with troops and we are the more surprised the French did not attack. I myself am convinced our Admirals must have the best reasons and information. Lord Dalrymple and Lord Lincoln leave, both express much friendship for me. Lord Dalrymple has the General's (Clinton's) orders to show you all his private papers; all is now reduced to writing. You know conversations are difficult to be remembered. . . . I pity Sir H. (Clinton), to those who know the country, his conduct and situation will appear in a proper light, but unlucky events are ever followed by disagreeable clamours. Friends should not defend, until there is an attack.". . .

Sir Henry Clinton to Lord Cathcart:

"NEW YORK Novr 30, 1781,

"There is but one cause my dear Lord, to which to impute our great misfortune, (Cornwallis's capitulation) the want of promised Naval superiority, in that his Lordship and I are agreed. But I fear in printing his letter of the 20th without correction, I have been too attentive to his interests, and negligent of my own. I did not influence him in taking the Post of York; I was not aware of the defects of the ground until afterwards; he was not detained contrary to his own judgment by my orders. He had positive assurance from me that joint Naval and Military exertions in his favour could not be made in Chesapeak. There is no pretence he could not have had entrenching tools. I shall, in case an unfavourable impression is made in Europe, expect from his Lordship's candour an avowal of the above points, such as he admitted in conversation, before I sent his letter to the press: otherwise I shall take effectual steps."

Governor Elliot to Lord Cathcart:

"NEW YORK Decr 8th 1781,

. . . "Washington at Philadelphia. His troops in different Quarters. Keep the French well employed at home, and all will go well. General Arnold and lady go home, if you wish to see them you can easily. She is your old acquaintance. . . . Lord Cornwallis goes in the Fleet; the General (Clinton) and he have on all occasions appeared friends, which gave me great satisfaction. . . . Clinton and Cornwallis I think really stand on common ground—an unexpected Naval force not provided against, has and only caused to bring about what has happened."

Sir Henry Clinton to Lord Cathcart:

"NEW YORK, Decr 30th 1781

[Referring to the capitulation, Sir Henry Clinton wrote:] "He (Lord Cornwallis) as he owns never gave me any hint that the ground of York was bad, and subject to enfilade till after his capitulation, nor (did he) speak the least unfavorably of it, till the enemy's first parallel was made, and they had got round his left, nor did I receive this letter till a few hours before he capitulated. With best regards to Lady Cathcart," etc.

He adds a postscript, "I am froze—I am blind, and I fear I shall make you so before you decipher this."

Governor Elliot to his nephew, Sir Gilbert Elliot, M. P.:

"NEW YORK June 1783.

[Referring to the condition of affairs in New York, he says:] "The Americans labour under great difficulty as to revenue and they are anxious as to commerce. It is a matter of importance to the English nation that there should be a judicious formation of a sufficient commercial plan. . . . Nothing is heard but of the heated resolves of the Populace against readmission of the Loyalists. The paper currency having failed, army certificates or security of vacant lands were adopted. These would not procure a pair of shoes. To the way of 'fillup' confiscated Estates were to be treated as vacant lands, then speculators bought up these certificates for 2/6 on the £1, some greatly under that price. The military being informed became exasperated and made great clamour. Lazy vermin as they called them, getting 20*s*/ for what they paid 2*s*/. Respectable people naturally resented

this, (and) a new order was made to check the speculators. Speculators then under (the) guise of friendship rushed into New York, where (the) Loyalists had congregated crying "Estates for Ever gone," and (they) offered to cover Estates with certificates at various sums, as low as 5*s*/6*d*. This is not hearsay. Loyalists as a rule would not throw good money after bad, the Speculators were enraged and returned to denounce the loyalists, in the respective Province to which the Speculators belonged, fomenting violent resolves against favouring Loyalists. . . . Georgia and the Carolinas are moderate, because Speculators have not reached them, their trouble will be the negroes. I am as much done with America and American affairs, as it seems the wish of Great Britain to be: God help the New Ministry to help her with restoratives of all sorts, she has had enough of evacuations."

Andrew Elliot to Sir Gilbert Elliot:

"NEW YORK February 2, 1776.

. . . "Lady Dunmore[1] left for Virginia. She has been here with her three boys for a month; the boys with me. I got a lodging in Town for her Ladyship and daughters. The most amiable I ever met; the vest cut out to make a thinking man happy. Her affability, ease, form and manners have charmed everybody; the whole Town was seized with a desire to Oblige her. My coach was an hour getting through the crowd of all ranks, offering their good wishes. Considering her rank and station she is a fine woman that can please here in this hour of our spirit of (discord). . . . Since writing our fort is burnt, the Governor and his lady very ill from the cold they catched! The tea was to be landed and stored there till the duty was paid; warm work; the ship is not arrived; what will be done time will show." . . .

[1] Lady Charlotte Stewart was the daughter of the sixth Earl of Galloway and wife of John, fourth Earl of Dunmore, last Provincial Governor of Virginia.

LETTER OF JOHN PAUL JONES.

FROM THE AUTOGRAPH COLLECTION OF FERDINAND J. DREER.

RANGER, NANTES 11th Decr 1777.

HONORED SIR,

I think it my duty to give you some Acc'ts of my Passage from Portsmouth to this place, as this may perhaps find you at home in the Bosom of domestic happiness. I had passed the Western Islands before a sail appeared within our Horizon from the Masthead; but this Halyon Season was then interrupted, and changed into continued alarms Night and day till the Ranger cast Anchor here the 2d currant, this afforded me excellent Opportunities of exercising the Officers and men especially in the Night, and it is with much Pleasure that I assure you their behaviour was to my entire Satisfaction. I fell in with an Enemies Fleet of Ten Sail off Ushant, bound up channel, but notwithstanding my best endeavours, I was unable to detach any of them from the strong Convoy under which they sailed. I fell in with and brought too a number of other Ships and Vessells none whereof proved to be British Property except two Brigantines with Fruit from Malaga for London which became Prizes, the one is arrived here, the other I am told in Quiberon Bay. The Rangers sailing does not answer the general expectation, oweing in a great measure to her being too deep, very foul and overmasted, her Ballast laid too high, on account of its improper quality, for a ship of this construction, this with the extraordinary weight of her lower masts; occasioned her being very Crank. I am paying my whole attention to remedy these inconveniences as much as Possible. I am shortening the lower masts, shipping the main mast further aft, and mean to ballast with Lead; as that article will stow under the lower tier of water the less

quantity will be sufficient, of course the Ship will be so much the lighter, and sail so much the faster, and we shall then, I hope, be able to stow the Cables under the Platform. Tho' I have yet received no Letter from the Commissioners, I understand that they had some time ago provided for me one of the finest frigates that can be imagined, calculated for Thirty-two Twenty-four Pounders, on one deck, and longer than any Ship in the Enemies Fleet, but it seems they were unfortunately under the necessity of giving her up on Account of some difficulties which they met with at Court, however I esteem the intention as much as tho' it had succeeded, as I shall always cherish the grateful remembrance of the Honor which Congress hath conferred on me by this and every other instance of their generous Approbation. I shall be the happiest of men if a Life of services devoted to the Interests of America can be rendered instrumental in securing its Independence.

My particular thanks are due to you Sir, as one of the four Members of that Honorable Committee to whose generous intention, and approbation I more immediately owe this great and unsolicited Obligation, but I hope for Opportunities of proving by my Conduct the deep sense I entertain of that favor.

The inclosed Letter, and its consequences hath give me real concern. Malice is a stranger to my nature. I hate domestic broils, or misunderstandings, and would do, or suffer much, as a private Person to prevent them. But as an Officer, honored with the approbation of Congress, and conscious of having at no time exceeded even in thought the delicate lines of my duty, or express Letter of my Orders; I am in the highest degree tenacious of the respect due to my Signature; and I bid the most contemptuous defiance to the insinuation of any man out of Congress.

I have been informed in Portsmouth that the four Oar'd Boat which attended the Ranger was built for the Portsmouth Privateer, and after being rejected as misconstructed and unuseful for that ship, was Assigned over to the Ranger, be this as it may, I will boldly affirm that she was the worst

constructed & most unserviceable Boat that I ever saw, belonging to a Ship of War, for tho' a man stepping on her Gunnel, would bring it down to the Water's edge, yet was her Weight equal, or nearly so to that of the Cutter, which I planned and had built, capable of carrying 40 armed Men. Had I been able, which I was not, to stow the two Boats, which I found provided for the Ranger, I must have been reduced to the Alternatives of throwing them overboard, or strikeing the Topmasts several times, on the Passage to prevent oversetting the Ship. I mention this matter to you *in confidence* as a Friend, declaring on the Honor of a Gentleman that I wish on my part to give it to Oblivion.

I have the pleasure to hear that Captains Thompson and Hinman are well at Lorient of which please inform Mrs. Thompson. I shall endeavour to procure the Articles mentioned in Mrs. Whipple's memorandum. I hope to live in the remembrance of the few acquaintances I have in Portsmouth, and I have the honor to be with due Respect.

Sir

Your very obliged
very Obedient
most humble Servant
JN^O P. JONES.

The Honble
GEN^L WHIPPLE.

J. L. Miller

A MEMOIR OF GENERAL HENRY MILLER.

BY HIS GRANDSON, HENRY MILLER WATTS.

Henry Miller was born 13th February, 1751, in Manor township, Lancaster County. He was the youngest son of John Miller, who early purchased a tract of land within the limits of the manor of Conestoga, on a part of which he subsequently laid out a town-plot, and called it Millersburg (now Millersville). The ancestral home is still standing, a fair specimen of the era of colonial building. Young Miller received his education in the schools at Lancaster. Selecting the law for his profession, he first entered the office of Collinson Reed, Esq., of Reading, in 1769, and at a later date that of Samuel Johnston, Esq., Prothonotary of York County, under whose instructions he completed his studies and was admitted to practice. Among the prominent families then residing in Lancaster was that of Joseph Rose, Esq., a native of Ireland, and a graduate of Dublin University. He was the father of several daughters, who became the mothers of well-known families of the Commonwealth. One of these was Ursula Rose, whose beauty and gracefulness are still preserved in a portrait painted by Benjamin West, who was then an inmate of her father's house. With her, prior to his reaching the age of maturity, Henry Miller, on 26th June, 1770, was united in marriage, whereupon the young couple removed to York. In 1772 his qualifications for a useful life were recognized by his appointment as collector of excise for the county of York, and this office he acceptably filled during the ensuing two years.

Throughout the exciting period which preceded the breaking out of the war for independence, Henry Miller was an ardent advocate for the claims of the Colonies, and

when the news of the skirmish at Concord reached York, he was one of the first to offer his services in the defence of their rights. Under the resolution of Congress, 14th June, 1775, a company of riflemen was recruited by Captain Michael Doudle, principally from the neighborhood of Sam Getty's tavern (now Gettysburg) and in York, of which Henry Miller was chosen the senior lieutenant. This company became attached to the battalion of riflemen commanded by Colonel William Thompson, which received the first commissions issued by Congress, and took rank over other regiments. The battalion was composed of six companies from Pennsylvania, two from Maryland, and two from Virginia. To Lieutenant Miller's company also belongs the honor of being the first to arrive at Cambridge from any point south of Long Island and west of the Hudson River. On 1st July, 1775, the day on which the company started for the camp at Cambridge, the Committee of York County wrote to the delegates in Congress from Pennsylvania: . . . "The officers we take the liberty to commend to you are Capt. Michael Doudle, Lieutenants Henry Miller, John Dill and James Matson. They are men whose courage we have the highest opinion of. The company including officers and men are beyond the number fixed for this county, and as Gen. Gates thought it improper to discharge any, we have sent them all. We hope no alteration will be made in the officers. The Captain has behaved very well on this occasion, and has done all in his power, by advancing money, &c., to forward the important common cause. Mr. Miller is known to some of you gentlemen. They all have wives and families, and are entitled to the warmest thanks of their country." By 8th July the company reached Bethlehem, and after a short halt resumed their march. We next hear of them passing through New Windsor, on the Hudson, and finally of their arrival at Cambridge early in the afternoon of July 25. The day following they were ordered to the front, where they did picket duty and assisted in the trenches at Ploughed Field.

Of the first action in which the company participated,

29th July, we have the following account: "We were informed by our sentries at the foot of Bunker's Hill, that the enemy had cut down several large trees, and were busy all night in throwing up a line and abattis in front of it. In the evening orders were given to the York County Rifle Company to march down to an advanced post, on Charlestown Neck, to endeavor to surround the enemy's advanced guard, and bring off some prisoners, from whom we expected to learn the enemy's design in throwing up the abattis in the Neck. The rifle company divided, and executed their plan in the following manner: Capt. Doudle, with thirty men filed off to the right of Bunker's Hill, and, creeping on their hands and knees, got into the rear of the enemies sentries without being discovered. The other division under Lieut. Miller, were equally successful in getting behind the sentries on the left, and were within a few yards of joining the division on the right, when a party of regulars came down the hill to relieve their guard, and crossed our riflemen before they saw them, and immediately fired. The riflemen returned the salute, killed several, and brought off two prisoners and their muskets, with the loss of Corporal Cruise,[1] who is supposed to be killed as he had not been heard of since the affair."[2] A few days later Captain Doudle resigned, and Lieutenant Miller was promoted to the command of the company, and participated with it in the siege of Boston. After evacuating Boston, General Howe sailed for Halifax. On June 11 he sailed for New York, arriving at Sandy Hook the 29th, and took possession of Staten Island 2d July. Here, on August 1, he was joined by Sir Henry Clinton, from Charleston, and his brother, Lord Howe, with a fleet and large land forces from England, whereupon preparations were commenced for the capture of New York and the country along the Hudson.

[1] Walter Cruise was taken prisoner, and not exchanged for seventeen months. He was subsequently promoted to captain in the Sixth Pennsylvania Regiment of the Line.—Ed.

[2] Paul Lunt's Diary, May–December, 1775, p. 9. Edited by S. A. Greene, M.D.

In the mean time the rifle battalion to which Captain Miller was attached had been re-enlisted, and as the First Regiment of the Pennsylvania Line in the Continental service, commanded by Colonel Edward Hand, began its new term of service in the camp on Long Island. Of the part taken in the movements which followed, by Captain Miller and his company, we quote from a letter of Lieutenant-Colonel Chambers, of his regiment, to his wife, under date of 3d September, 1776: "On the morning of the 22d August there were nine thousand British troops on New Utrecht plains. The guard alarmed our small camp, and we assembled at the flagstaff. We marched our forces to watch the enemy. . . . When in sight of Flatbush, we discovered the enemy, but not the main body. On perceiving us, they retreated down the road perhaps a mile. A party of our people, commanded by Captain Miller, followed them close with a design to decoy a portion of them to follow him, whilst the rest kept in the edge of the woods alongside of Capt. Miller. But they thought better of the matter, & would not come after him, though he went within two hundred yards. There they stood for a long time, & then Captain Miller turned off to us." . . . In his account of the retreat, General Hand writes: "My regiment was posted in a redoubt on the left, & in the lines on the left of the great road below Brooklyn Church. Captain Henry Miller commanded in the redoubt." Writing to his wife, Captain Miller states: "Today (August 4) my company was reviewed by General Washington, but owing to a heavy cannonade up the river his stay was very short." Again, on the 31st of the same month: "As our regiments were sent only as an advance guard to watch the movements of the enemy and not for the purpose of making a stand, where they did, and as they were brought into action by the great spirit which prevailed among the Pennsylvania, Maryland and lower country troops, the result of the battle could not be properly called a defeat. . . . We forced the enemy to retreat three different times from their advanced posts, and their loss was greater than our own. . . . The retreat was conducted in

such a manner, as would do honor to the most experienced Generals and army in the world: for it entirely disconcerted the designs of the enemy to surround us. I had the honor to be in the rear guard, the Sun was up before I left the Island. Governor's Island was given up yesterday. We shall leave New York in a few days, for this place is too advantageously situated for the enemy, and the possession of it will not afford them an easy access to the back country."

A contemporary writer states this additional fact: "Captain Miller in this retreat, was the last man to enter the boats, and that, when they pushed off and were supposed to be out of danger, the fog of the morning still overhanging them, he stood up, hat in hand, and gave three hearty cheers. This brought down on them a volley of musketry that nearly swamped their boats."

(To be continued.)

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN WILLIAM STRAHAN AND DAVID HALL, 1763–1777.

(Continued from page 234.)

LONDON June 26. 1770.

DEAR DAVIE

Your last Letter to me was dated the 20th of February, which I acknowleged in mine of April 7th. I wrote you likewise May 23d a long Letter, to which I refer.—Dr. Franklin shewed me a Letter from you of later Date than your last to me, and I think there is a Packet arrived since that, by neither of which Conveyances have I heard from you; but I suppose you had nothing material to say. At present, you have to acknowlege the Receit of mine of Janry 11. February 17. March 19. April 7. and May 23. of which I suppose I shall hear in due time.

As I have nothing to write you relating to Business, and very little or nothing new to say regarding Politics, I shall not now trouble you with a long Letter. Since the Parliament separated, we have been in a State of perfect Tranquillity here, and, as far as I can see, are likely to continue so. The Truth is, all this Superstructure of Faction hath been raised by a few Incendiaries, who have already carried their Operations to the utmost. They are now by no means likely to increase; so that any Defection of their present Number, by Death or otherwise, will reduce them to nothing, and then Men will naturally return to the old parliamentary Methods of Opposition, to which I have no Sort of Objection, as it serves to keep the Ministry for the time being more attentive to the Duties of their Station, and more guarded in all their Conduct. During the last Session the present Ministry, by merely keeping their Ground, have well nigh ruined their Opponents. Had they had Courage enough to go a Step farther—to make a few Examples—it

would have entirely completed the Business. However, I am not without Hopes, that by next Sessions they will become more sensible of their real Strength, and act accordingly. It is very true, that the Spirit of Faction hath of late gone greater Lengths than perhaps any Government ought to suffer with Impunity, which implies a most singular Want of libility somewhere; yet I see no Signs (as some think they discover) of a Consumption, or speedy Dissolution of our Constitution. Were Matters carried but a very little farther, it would find many and great Resources, and receive effectual Support from Men of Sense and Property everywhere; nor can it, in my Mind, be either ruined or materially hurt by the Clamour of a few self-interested Individuals about Grievances which are not *felt*, and Apprehensions which are not even *understood* by the Bulk of the People. A mere Mob in this Country, having no universally allowed just Cause of Complaint, and without a gallant, enterprizing, and sagacious Leader, can do nothing, unless joined by the Military, who are hitherto untainted, and of whom a single Regiment could easily have dispersed all the Multitudes that ever assembled to abett the late Riots. In Scotland they make a National Cause of it, and are quite unanimous in favour of Government: And their Union upon this Occasion is easily accounted for, as the Jacobite Party, now their old Cause is extinguished, from the very Nature of their Principles, remain firm Friends of Monarchy in opposition equally to Anarchy and Republicanism.

I am sorry to perceive, by the American Papers, that the Disturbances in Boston rather increase than abate. I cannot easily conceive what the People there aim at. If the Animosities are carried much farther, I cannot conjecture how they will terminate.—You must see farther into the Matter than I can possibly do. I am afraid they take advantage of our Dissentions at home, else they would not surely venture on committing such great Outrages. They do not well to avail themselves of the Timidity and Irresolution of the Men now at the Helm. But I will avoid forming any hasty Opinion of the Conduct of these People, till they have had

full Time and ample Opportunity to answer for themselves. In the mean time, I pray for the Peace, Happiness, and Prosperity equally, of all the British Empire.

The Bearer of this, Mr Samuel Gale, is extremely well recommended to me, as an able Astronomer and Mathematician. He has taken an invincible Inclination to visit North America, where he hopes to find Employment, as a Land Surveyor; or in some other Shape, in which he is qualified. As he has the Character of a very sober well-dispossed Young Man, I hope you will give him your Countenance, and, if you can, recommend him to some Business.

You will see by the Papers, that we have lost our Lord Mayor; which, at this Juncture, throws the City into a little Confusion. The Popular Party are likely to carry the new Elections, for Mayor, Sheriffs, and Member for the City; but that will signify little. We are, otherwise, in absolute Tranquillity.

My Wife has been at Bath these three Weeks, and is already much restored. All the rest of my Family are in their Ordinary. I hope Mrs Hall has got well again, and that I shall hear from you soon. Mean while, I remain as ever

Dear Davie
Yours most affectionately
WILL: STRAHAN.

Delivered by Mr Gale.

(Copy.)

LONDON Augt 8. 1770.

DEAR DAVIE

In the Course of last Month I received yours of May 26, June 8 and 14. by Captains Moore, Sparks, Osborne and Friend, acknowledging the Receit of mine by the February Packet, by Capt^s Sparks and Falconer, and also mine of April 7 by the Packet. As for the Omissions—You will find 3 Burrough's Reports instead of 2 you wrote for, one of which is for Mr Moore.—The Prayer Books were sent in the Amelia, Villeneufoe, the London Magazines for 1737,

&c. in 11 Vol^s by the Dolphin, Stephenson, in a Box with the Mag^s for May, to the Care of Mr Samuel Gale, by whom I wrote you June 26 and July 7. The rest shall be included in the Invoice of next Parcel, which I am getting ready as fast as possible.

I have paid Bayles & Staples £4: 14: 6 and Mr Balfour £3: 16: 9 as you desired, for which I have debit you.

I have not yet heard from Messrs Parr & Bulkely at Lisbon; but when I do, shall be sure to advise you of it in Course. Hope you got a good Account of your Creditor you went in quest of. I purchased a Lottery Ticket for you the moment they were issued, which cost £14. 9. 6. The Number 2916. I wish you heartily good Luck with it.

I dare say I have rather tired you with my Politicks of late; but at present I have none to trouble you with. We are all profoundly quiet here. I wish it were so to you, tho' there is yet little Appearance of it. But having already given you my Opinion upon that important Subject, I shall now be silent upon it.

The Letter I wrote to Dr Franklin, with his Answer to it, the Governor writes his Father he had heard much of, but had not seen, as there had not, of late years, been any Correspondence between you. I therefore sent him another Copy of it by Mr Gale. You was certainly right not to let it go out of your hands to any Person, as it was highly improper to publish it, or risk its getting into the Papers; but still I could have wished that the Governor had seen it, as it must be agreeable to him to peruse such a Production of his Father's. You will at the same time, excuse me for expressing my Concern that there should be any Misunderstanding between you and him. I am always so, when this happens to be the Case between two People; who are both worthy in themselves, and mean one another well. I intreat then that you will forthwith make up the Breach. If you think you have been aggrieved by any part of his Conduct (which I am convinced he never intended) the nobler it will be in you to make the first Step to a thorough Reconciliation. I am quite certain that your Difference, whatever it may be,

is literally a *Misunderstanding.* I pray you therefore to comply with my Request without Delay. I am sure you will find a Correspondent Disposition in him, and that you will both thank me for thus abruptly taking upon me the best of all Employments that of a *Peace-maker.* A single Line from you to him does the thing at once, and I trust to hear of your having complied with this my earnest Request in your very next Letter. The Governor has had a very critical Part to act during all these Turmoils; and what is very extraordinary, and very much to his Honour, I never heard his Conduct arraigned in any one Instance. This adds to my Solicitude that two such Men as you and he, whom I love and esteem, should love and esteem one another.

The late Trial of the Duke of Cumberland hath terminated much to his Dishonour. His whole Conduct in Prosecution of that Intrigue was not only highly unbecoming his Station; but low, puerile and unmanly to a great Degree. His Letters, (tho' some Allowance ought to be made for them as being the hasty Productions of a young Man under the Influence of one of the strongest Passions,) are yet so very incorrect and devoid of Sentiment, as to appear altogether unworthy of one who had the Advantage of a liberal Education. But above all, his running out of the Room, when he was discovered with his Mistress, and then offering to take his *Bible Oath* he had not been there, will ever be remembered to his Discredit. To say the Truth, it is really shocking to find a Member of the Royal Family, and nearly allied to our Sovereign, so very much *underbred.* I know not where the Fault lies, but I see our *Mock-Patriots* are making their own Use of this imprudent and unfortunate Event to traduce the whole Family.

The Fire at Portsmouth was probably the Deed of some of the worthless Workmen about the Yard, not of the French. There is not the smallest Appearance of a War with them, or with any other Power. And all you have seen in the Papers about a Change of Ministry is absolutely without Foundation. No Application has been or is intended to be made to Lord Chatham; and Lord Northing-

ton came to Town, purely because he was tired of the Country, in order to hire a House for a Town Residence. All these Paragraphs are artfully published to impress People at a Distance with a Notion of the Instability of our Councils, and are well calculated to keep up a Spirit of Discontent and Opposition; but I hope without Effect. My Wife is still at Bath. The rest of my Family are now at home, and join me in kindest remembrance of you and yours. My Love to Mrs Hall. I am Dear Davie

Most affectionately Yours

WILL: STRAHAN

LONDON August 24. 1770.

DEAR DAVIE

The original of the above I hope you received by the last Packett, tho' I am somewhat apprehensive it was rather too late. I now send you your last Order, (amounting to £215: 19: 9) as complete as possible, which I hope will reach you safe.

No News stirring at present.—The New York Merchants here, in consequence of Orders from thence by the last Packett, are shipping large Quantities of all Sorts of our Manufactures; those for Woolen Goods, in particular, are so extensive, that there are not enough in the Markett, I am well assured, to supply them. Thus the Ice being now broke, the other Colonies must soon follow their Example. I wish from my Heart yours had yielded first. I know the *good Disposition* of the Ministry towards you, and I have long thought the Matter now in Dispute between us a mere Bagatelle. In such a Situation of Things it is very natural for honest Men to grow warm, and to be alarmed for their Liberties, as thinking them in real Danger. This, in them, is very excuseable. But the artful and factious part of the Community make their own Advantage of public Misapprehensions, and blow the Flame. This has been the Case now: For I am very well assured, that many of the most zealous Sticklers for Non-importation have themselves been underhand concerned in large clandestine Importations; and

I know too, that several of the Colonies (and yours in particular) have been, from time to time, encouraged to hold out *by Letters from England*, which, in my Opinion, had better been let alone.—I will not farther enlarge, tho' I could say a great deal more. I shall only add, that upon such Occasions, honest Men are generally the greatest Sufferers, by permitting themselves to be duped by the Artful and Designing. I never thought it was worth your while to stand out upon the *Tea Duty;* and I always imagined, what has now come to pass, that you could not, in the Nature of Things, hold out long without a Free-Importation; and that, even if you could, for any Length of time, all the Colonies would never continue long of one Mind. To suppose that they would, they must all be composed of honest Men without Exception. But of such, neither the Continent of America, nor any other Continent, consists.

My Wife, having got pure well again at Bath, now talks of returning home. All the rest of my Family are in their Ordinary. I am and have been for some time, extremely busy, having not only my own particular Affairs, but the whole Concerns of King's Printer and Law Printer, upon my Hands; by all which you cannot conceive in what constant Employment I am kept, and what uninterrupted Attention they require.

I expect Mr Balfour from Edinburgh next Week, who comes here almost purposely to pay me a Visit.—I wish you were here likewise to give him the Meeting.—I have, at your Desire, long forebore to mention your coming here; but I must beg leave to ask you once more, *Do you ever intend to visit your native Country?* I have yet had no Letters from Lisbon. When I have, you shall know. I remain

Dear Davie

Yours most affectionately

WILL: STRAHAN.

LONDON Novr. 7, 1770.

DEAR DAVIE

I wrote you Augst 8. by the Packett—Augst 24 by Captain Sparks, and Octr 6 by the Packett.—To which I refer.

I am since favoured with yours of Septr 15, owning the Receit of all my Letters except the above mentioned. In my last I acknowleged the Receit of £200 from Parr and Bulkeley at Lisbon, and inclosed is the State of our Account as it now stands in my Books, and which I hope will tally with yours; as in my Letter of July 5. 1769. I accounted for and adjusted all the Differences which then subsisted between yours and mine. When Messrs Parr and Bulkeley make me any farther Remittance I shall duly advise you. You need never send me Bills but with your own Conveniency; for you know, from the beginning of our Dealings to this Day, I have never had Occasion to say a Word upon that subject, unless it was highly to praise your singular Punctuality which I once more sincerely thank you for. I believe there is hardly such another Correspondent, anywhere, with regard to that Particular.

The Index to the Monthly Review, as far as yet printed (and indeed the only Copy of it I could get) was sent in the Parcel of August 24.—The London Mag. for 1737, 39, 49, &c. in 11 Volumes ½ b^{d} was sent by the Dolphin, Stevenson, June 28. along with Mr Gale, and were put in a Box marked, *Samuel Gale, Stores.*—I hope you received it from him. It contained also the Mag^{s} for May, and 75 Fisher's Companion—The 200 Smallest Fables, and 1 Croxall's Esop still wanting, shall be sent with next Parcel.—This is all I think I have to say at present with Respect to Business.

As for Politics—Since last Session of Parliament, the Opposition have lost three of their principal Members—Beckford, our late Mayor, a bold and ready Tool in the Hands of Lord Chatham, equal to the most daring and hazardous Services, whose Assurance could not be daunted, and whose Thirst after political Mischief was unquenchable—Lord Granby, who tho' in his own Nature easy, humane, and generous, was yet to be dreaded from his Facility

and Weakness, from his Love of low Popularity, from the Influence this gave him among the Soldiery, and from his being in a manner obliged, by pecuniary Obligations, to adopt the Politicks of Men who had sinister Views in all their Conduct, and were in every Respect inferior to himself, who always meant well, whatever Construction might have been put upon his late Conduct in Parliament.—And lastly, George Grenville, who is now past Recovery, and cannot, I am well assured, live many Weeks. He was, in truth, the chief Pillar of the Opposition, and kept them united: For as he was personally obnoxious to the King, who had determined, I believe, never again to employ him, and his Rank among the Party must have for ever prevented any Overture for an Accommodation in which he was not comprehended, he alone, in a Manner, rendered them permanent and formidable.—In the whole House of Commons there are not three Men in Opposition, of equal Weight and Consideration.

Our Patriots made a very ridiculous Figure last Wednesday in Westminster-hall, a particular Account of which you will find in the Chronicle. It is, I hope, the last Effort of an expiring Faction that hath too long disgraced this Country. I am told also that they are beginning to fall out among themselves, and that one Party of them threaten to expose the Operations of the other by a Publication of their Conduct for some time past. If that really takes place, you will then be convinced how very contemptible and few in Number are the Men who have made the Bustle, that hath given People, at a Distance in particular, so much alarm and uneasiness. Even Wilkes himself is almost tired out; for he told a Friend of his the other Day, who met him in the Street, and asked him how he did: *I am pretty well*, answered he, *but damnably sick of Wilkes and Liberty.*

With regard to our Dispute with Spain, I can assure you from the best Authority, it is now reduced to a mere *Punctilio*, and that there is no doubt of their Submission. The French Court too dread nothing so much as breaking with us at present. These important Particulars you may depend on. But if, contrary to all reasonable Expectation, the pres-

ent Misunderstanding should at length terminate in a War, *I know* our Fleet is in excellent Order; that 18 ships of the Line, with a great number of Frigates, are already manned, and can put to Sea in a Week; that 50 more can be ready in a few Months; and that the whole Nation, from their natural Restlessness and Fickleness, are quite alive and alert in contemplation of a Rupture with their antient Enemies.

As for our Finances I have likewise the Pleasure to tell you, from the highest Authority, that, in spite of the supposed Stagnation of our Trade to America, the Sinking Fund this year (viz. from Michaelmas 1769. to Michaelmas last) amounts to £2,833,860, which is just £421,074 more than it was last year: A Sum which, together with an additional Shilling Land-tax, is sufficient to carry on a Naval War, without laying any additional Burthen upon the People. A Situation this, which our Enemies know, and tremble at.

I hope it is true, what our Newspapers tell us, that your Province hath followed the Example of that of New York, and have agreed to import after the 19th of January. In this I think you do well, whatever other People may say to the Contrary. I have now had Occasion to hear every Thing that can be offered on both sides of this important Question, have nothing earthly to biass me, and have considered it in the fullest and most dispassionate Manner I was capable of.—The Result is, That I think a Separation or a long-subsisting Difference between Britain and her Colonies equally prejudicial to both.—That many and great Inconveniencies would arise to both, if ever Money is raised upon the Subject, for the Benefit and Security of the *whole British Empire*, in any other way than by Parliament, who alone have constitutionally the Power of making Laws to bind *all the King's Dominions*.—That it requires no great Penetration to foresee the Ruin of Great Britain (and of consequence the Ruin of all her Domains everywhere) if ever the Doctrine of no Taxation in America should be established by Law: And, lastly, That it is apparently unreasonable that the Mother Country, already drained of her Blood and Treasure in supporting,

defending, and enlarging her Colonies should bear the whole Expence of the British Navy, without whose Protection they might soon become a Prey to Foreign Powers. In answer to those who say, Why not make Demands upon the Americans for stipulated Sums by way of Requisition, and let them raise money as shall be most agreeable to themselves.—I shall only briefly observe, That this is granted them for their own separate internal Police tho' not for national Purposes; that in the way proposed the different Provinces would be perpetually quarrelling about their respective Proportions, and as the Parliament are fully as incapable Judges of the Sums each Colony could afford to give, as of the best Manner of raising them, they would, in all likelihood, dispute the Quota required, and many and great Squabbles must ensue. It is the peculiar Happiness of the British State, That ye Parliament's Power hath hitherto been in general satisfactory to the People, and that they acquiese in its Regulations, which in similar Cases no arbitrary Prince durst risk; To this Power we, in a great Measure, owe our Wealth and Consideration.—Taxes upon Consumption will always follow Properly, and the Parliament are as good Judges as the People what Articles will best bear taxing. If they err in any Case, they seldom fail to alter upon proper Representation. The Americans ought therefore to contribute to the Support of *the whole* in such Proportion as they are able, since they avail themselves of those Laws made by Parliament for the Protection of their Lives and Properties, and enjoy, in common with all British Subjects, the Protection of her Fleets and Armies.—But it is alleged, That America pays Britain her Proportion of Taxes by the advanced Price she pays for her Manufactures.—To this it may be answered, that Britain is by Law, as in truth, it ought to be, to give the Colonies a Preference of their Consumption of every Species of Produce they can raise, and pay, without murmuring, considerable Bounties on their Importation, which were we at Liberty to supply ourselves with from Foreigners, some People aver, would be a saving of nearly as much as would pay for all the British Manufactures consumed in the

Colonies; that we are loaded with an enormous Debt, much of it contracted in last War on your Acc[t] and that you pay no Duties upon Salt, Soap, Candles, Leather, &c. &c. &c. which lie very heavy on the Common People here: But as I do not pretend to be Master of this intricate Subject, I will not now trespass on your Patience farther.

Hitherto, my dear Friend, I have with the utmost Openness and Candor; and the best of my Judgment communicated to you, from time to time, my Thoughts upon this and other Subjects of the like Nature: But you neither favour me with yours, nor even with any Observations upon mine; whence I begin to think my Politics now begin to be disagreeable to you. If so, the least Hint from you will prevent all farther trouble to you on this Head. An open and free Communication of Sentiments between Friends ought to be mutual.

Next Week the Parliament assembles, when we shall soon see what turn public Affairs will take. If I am not misinformed the Parliament will not take off the Duty on Tea; nor give up their Right of Taxation in America. I most sincerely wish this and every future Dispute may terminate so as best to promote the Prosperity and Happiness of the *Whole.* I can never be brought to think our Interests are, or ought to be, separate.

My Family are at present purely, and join in kind Remembrance of you and yours. I am ever, with unalterable Esteem and Affection

Dear Davie

Most cordially and faithfully Yours

WILL: STRAHAN.

Dr. Franklin is in perfect Health, and writes many Letters, I suppose, by this Packett.—He and I differ widely in our American Politics, which I am heartily sorry for, as I esteem him highly.—But tho' we *differ* we do not *disagree;* and must ever be good Friends, as I trust we aim at both the same End, tho' we differ in the Means.

(To be continued.)

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

THE ERIE TRIANGLE AND NORTHWESTERN PENNSYLVANIA LAND TITLES.—The writer of the following letter was a distinguished member of the Philadelphia bar, who was admitted to practice 28th September, 1791, and died 8th July, 1856, aged eighty-seven years.

PHILAD^a March 15th 1810.

SIR.

I now proceed to throw together certain facts and observations relative to the long depending western controversy to elucidate its true character and with the earnest wish that a result may follow *honorable* to the Legislature and *just* to all parties concerned.

I shall begin with an historical narrative in the order of events and conclude with such observations as strike me as important on the subject.

Charles Thompson while Secretary of Congress at New York first suggested to the Pennsylvania Representation in Congress, the importance of purchasing from the United States the Triangular Wall on Lake Erie—not for the value of the ground, for the State had already enough, but for the purpose of obtaining a port upon the lake the only safe one on the side of the United States which if Pennsylvania did not obtain her Rival New York would undoubtedly get. This information I had from Mr. Thompson himself with whom I am well acquainted.

The Idea was adopted and purchase made I think as early as 1786 at 75 cents per acre payable in Cash or United States Certificates then at 2/6 on the pound. Penna. at this time held large quantities of these Certificates obtained through the Land-Office in payment of Lands. Payment was not made until I think in 1792 after certificates were funded and at par she therefore paid at the full value. The minutes for those years will furnish full evidence of the above as they are stated by the Comptroller General in his annual statements and published at the end of the book.

Until 1792, no part of Pennsylvania N & W of the Ohio & Alleghany and west of the Connewango Creek had been offered for sale. The operations of the Land office had been confined to the Country East of this. The whole of the West remained a Wilderness—and ungranted except the special appropriations for Depreciation and Donation Lands.

At the Commencement of 1792 the whole Western Frontier from Pittsburg to the New York Line were in the utmost consternation—Harmer's army was defeated in August 1790—St Clair's army was cut to pieces in Nov. 1791—The Inhabitants west of Pittsburg collected in that Town for safety, and guards were regularly mounted. Negotiations were carried on by the Western Indians with the Six Nations (who Inhabited New York from Erie eastward and along the Pennsylvania line,) to join them which was much apprehended—Conclusive evidence of the above facts are contained in President Washington's speech and communications to Congress for 1790. 91. 92. 93. 94. published in the Journals, and

Governor Mifflins communications to the State for the same period also published in the State Journals and the public laws then passed for the Defense of the Western frontiers. To relieve you in the search I beg leave to refer you to 12 Jour[l] of Congress p. 85. 116 to shew that an Indian war existed from 1783 until Waynes Treaty—13 vol. 72. Jour[l] Senate U. S. 25 Oct 1791. p. 6. p. 15. Presidents speech 8 Jany 1792. 10 Jany answer of Senate—Laws U. S. 1 vol p 189 declaration of Congress of existing war—2 vol Laws U. S. Mar 1792 Act to raise Troops—8 Dec 1790 p 6 Presidents speech—3 Dec 1793 p. 12 ditto—19 Nov 1794 p. 33 Ditto on same subject see Journals Senate Penn[a] vol 1 p. 7 29. 37. 47. 54—2[d] vol p. 288, 294, 264, 265, Laws of Penn 3 vol p. 19, 177, 464, 483, 757.

Pennsylvania being thus situated fell on the expedient of forming a dense settlement of hardy adventurers beyond the Alleghany to keep the Indians from the interior inhabitants—and of raising money—The Act 3 Ap. 1792 passed—which reduced the price of the remaining lands east of the Alleghany to encourage purchasers—and the condition of settlement was attached only to the lands west. As the Country was a Wilderness its Settlement was best promoted by Companies of Warrantees who in the first instance advanced the monies to the Treasury and where means and [torn] enabled them to bring in settlers and combine their movements better than seperate unassisted and poor individuals could at a distance of 100 to 150 miles from settlements. On examining the Receiver Generals Accounts for 1792 3. 4. I believe it will appear that the Act of April 1792 in those years brought upwards of half a million into the Treasury—this was of great importance as the State was heavily encumbered at this time and had lost her revenue from Impost by the Constitution of the United States and Commerce had not yet revived.

All the Warrants of the Holland Population and North American Land Companies were taken out in 1792, 1793, and 1794, and these three companies alone paid in those years upwards of $200,000 to the Commonwealth besides patenting fees at a subsequent period to the State. Such was the Terror and apprehension prevailing through the whole of that Country that none of the Deputies dared to venture there until the close of 1794 and not a single Survey as will appear by searching the Land office was made in any part of the whole extent from Pittsburg to the lake until 1795—Survey must precede settlement—and the State is bound to protect her citizens—yet this protection until 1795, Penn[a] was unable to afford. The whole of 1795 was consumed in making Surveys—and no settlements could be made until 1796.

In 1796 agents were appointed to conduct the settlements—provisions—live stock—Seed grain—impliments of agriculture were purchased to a large extent and transported through New York and Penn[a] for the supply of the settlers under the Companies—every effort in the power of man was made to settle and improve each and every tract—liberal gratuities of land amounting to a fourth of each tract was offered to the Settler—but unfortunately a set of speculators formed themselves into companies to seize and keep the lands of the Companies under the idea then held out that the warrants were all forfeited because more than 2 years had elapsed from their respective dates without settlements being made these speculators combined Intruders into bodies who forcibly took possession of tracts—if a settler under the Company left his house he would find on his return his family and goods thrown out of doors and another in possession—riots were generated to an alarming extent—the liberal donations of land by the Companies were declared to be strong evidence that they had no title to any or they would not be so liberal. Settlers under contracts with the Companies were seduced to hold the land for

themselves and the whole country was involved in confusion. The Companies pacified several of these combinations by large sacrifices of money and land which unfortunately tended produce others. In proof of the above I refer you to the copies of Depositions and in evidence on the Trials in the Federal Court. They were made by the Clerk of the Court at the Senates request on the application of Mr McArthur about 2 years ago and must be on the files of that House. These Depositions were openly and publicly taken at the Court House in Meadville in the midst of that Country and in the presence of the people every Witness was closely cross-examined by Counsel on both sides—and the information is detailed at full length. The Depositions to which I would principally refer are those of David Meade, Robert Fitz Randolph, Samuel [torn] Alexander McDowell, Andrew Ellicott, John Adlum, Roger Alden, Jabez Colt, Thomas Reece, Judah Colt. In the Legislative proceedings which have heretofore taken place and also the Judicial proceedings I refer to the Holland Companys case in print a copy of which Mr. Wallace will lend you.

A few practical observations result from the foregoing statement: 1. Is there any use in retaining any longer the claim in the 9 Sect. of the Act of Apr 1792 exacting the condition of settlement.

There is an old Maxim which declares "that the reason of a law ceasing the law itself should cease." This applies with accumulating force in regard to this condition. It retards instead of advancing the settlement of the Country and is the first cause of all the confusion which has existed already for 15 years and will continue to exist as long as the condition exists. The only motive for making it was to obtain a frontier against Indian incursion. The State of Ohio is now your frontier—experience has shown that where title is unfettered, lands will settle fast enough in the times of peace and prosperity. No such condition was ever before exacted by Pennsylvania and yet her lands where titles were clear have settled abundantly fast and where titles were not clear have not yet settled. Compare Luzerne and Wayne where settlements began in 1769 immediately after the Treaty at Fort Stanwix in 1768, with the adjoining Lands in New York and those of our Western Counties settled since 1784. What a difference! occasioned by the unhappy feud with the Connecticut claimants which commenced in 1757, and not yet completely terminated. This part has access to two Markets Philad^a and New York. Compare the Counties west of the Alleghany with the State of Ohio whose settlement except in the margin of the river commenced later—and their lands sold at double the price without any donation. The U. States sell at $2 ⅌ acre—the Companies in 1796 sold at $1. and gave large donations. What occasions the difference? Pennsylvania has as good lands—in many places are nearer market—has a bank at Pittsburg—and a treble communication with Canada—New York and the Ohio? I answer nothing but the continuance of the condition—the rigorous exaction of forfeiture held out by the Legislature—throwing their whole weight into one scale—overawing the Courts, by creating new and unheard of Jurisdictions, and for whose benefit? her own—No—she depopulates her territory—peoples Ohio and New York one her present and the other to become her future rival—for the benefit of meritorious actual settlers who have borne the brunt of Indian warfare? No, none such exist—for the benefit of actual settlers on their own individual account who emigrated since the peace with the Indians and who mistakenly in point of law but with honest intentions settled, supposing the land forfeited—No, almost all persons of this description have accomodated—In whose benefit? for the benefit of Speculators, assuming

the title of Actual settlers, who employ others to intrude and engage to divide the spoil—for persons who from interested personal motives to keep in office or to get appointed by the people keep up the contention as the support of their influence—and who finally make the poor and the ignorant their dupes.

2. How is the dispute to be terminated?

By the Legislature extinguishing the condition saving unto all parties, their rights heretofore acquired. *This is but* justice. It is doing no more than a Court of Chancery would direct as equitable were they to decide between private persons situated in regard to each other [torn] the State and Warrant holders are situated.

This is *political* because it restores character to the title to Lands in the Country the whole of which is now in the shade—would invite emigration now deterred—would restore harmony by anihilating the cause of anarchy—would promote a rapid commerce between Pittsburg and the lakes now chilled by the checks which the subordinate branches of Industry necessary to active commerce now induce the principal of which is extensive agricultural improvement—At the present the whole Country is in a state of poverty—and people with the best titles are under great discouragements.

I would conclude by proposing if it meets your approbation: In the first place to reject the pending Bill intoto—the Holland Companys memorial details the objections and I hope will have effect.

In the next place to pass a law to the following effect:

Whereas the causes inducing the Legislature in the year 1792 to annex the condition of settlement and residence to lands situate N & W of the river Ohio & Alleghany and west of Connewame Creek no longer exist and the prosperity of that Country will be advanced by extinguishing the same—

Therefore Be it enacted and that from and after the passing of this Act so much of an Act entitled & passed the 3rd Day of April AD 1792, as exacts or requires any settlement and residence or either of them as a condition or requisite to any title to lands granted under the said Act be and the same are hereby repealed and that all forfeitures, for non-compliance with any such condition of settlement and residence from henceforward are and shall be released and extinguished on the part of the Commonwealth and all titles derived under the said act by warrant or settlement shall vest and enure in the same manner as if no clause had ever been enacted requiring settlement and residence as a requisite or condition to title under the same—Provided always &c that nothing herein contained shall in any respects impair injure or affect any title acquired before the passing of this Act by any person or persons in persuance of or under any forfeiture for condition broken under the said act but all such titles shall be and remain as if this Act had never been passed.

If neither of the above propositions can take effect—then to pass the Bill with the modifications proposed by Mr. Wallace.

The subject of this letter is of so much public Interest and the State of Pennsylvania is so fast approximating to Kentucky in regard to title that I have been led thus far to engage your attention.

I remain with esteem

Your most obedient

JAMES GIBSON

WILLIAM J DUANE ESQ Lancaster Pa

BRADDOCK'S CAMPAIGN.—The following letter, unsigned, from Henry Fox, afterwards first Lord Holland, to Peter Collinson, is taken from

Collinson's collection of MS. Letters in the British Museum, Vol. II. p. 33. A comparison with other letters and the internal evidence shows its author.

WILLIAM J. POTTS.

"Decr 22 1754.

"Friend Collison, [*sic*] I'll get you some of each sort of Seeds.

"As to Virginia, Braddock if He do's not find it done to his hands, must clear the Ohio, & build and garrison a Fort in a proper place on that River. Then to Niagara which I hope will be a Place of Arms, in *the extensive view you mention*, & have armed vessels under the Direction of whoever shall command there; or the Lake Erie. Then He must take Crown-point, & keep & garrison it, And if His assistance is wanted, last of all sweep the French off from *Beaú Sejour* as they call it near Chenecto Settlements, to introduce which all this is done, must be the Work of Time & Industry as well as Arms & Counsell.

"Now For Your City News. You are wicked People in the City to report such things without Foundation to the Discredit of Your Neighbors; Unless you think that if 2000£ a year is but gain'd, it can be no Discredit to obtain it any how. I believe, Friend, I might have had a Place, as much better than mine as that comes to, or perhaps that added to my own if I would. But I would have no pecuniary Advantage, lest it should be said that Friend Fox was hir'd or brib'd. Friend Pitt talk'd well. Fox did not meddle, as yr News says, but sate still. The King spoke to Fox desir'd his assistance bid Him be active; Fox obeys & desires a Mark of Favour and Confidence, *not Money may be the Motive & Reason of such Obedience* & is made a Cabinet Counsellor, the only True piece of News in ye Gazette. I heartily thank you for sending it, & beg you to continue to me, so usefull a Mark of Your Friendship

"Adieu"

MS. ON THE SUSQUEHANNA AND BORDERING COUNTRY.—The British Historical Manuscripts Commission, in the Appendix to their 8th Report, mention a manuscript of some value to students of Pennsylvania history. "Official Report of 48 pp., May 1778, 'Description de la riviére de Susquehanna, et du pays qui la borde, depuis Harris's Ferry jusqua l'embouchure.' MS. still, or recently, in the possession of Lord Braybrooke of Braybrooke, at Audley End, Saffron, Walden, Sussex."

W. J. P.

THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION.—Books wanted for the use of Congress, probably in connection with their preparation.

YORK IN PENNSYLVANIA Nov. 8, 1777

DEAR SIR:

The following Books[1] are much wanted by some Gentlemen of Congress, and are not to be procured in this Place; if they are to be found in ye Pennsylvania Library, which we are informed is removed by order of your Excellency to Lancaster, I shall be much obliged to you for ye loan thereof. Being with respect your Excellency's very hum. sert.

E. GERRY.

His Excellency THOMAS WHARTON ESQ
Lancaster

[1] Vattell's Law of Nations.
Grotius.
Puffendorf.

HUNTERDON COUNTY, N. J.—"To His Eccellency William Franklin Esq. Captain General and Governor in Chief in & over his Majesties Province of New Jersey & Territories therein Depending, Chancellor and Vice Admiral in the same And to the Honourable Gentlemen of his Majesties Council of the Province aforesaid—

"The Pittition of the Inhabitants of the Township of Alexandria in the County of Hunterdon Humbly Sheweth—

"The great Difficulty Your Pittitioners Labour under for Want of a Magistrate, having none in The Township, & many of Your Pittitioners Living at the distance of Fifteen Miles from any, which hardships Generally Effects the poorer sort of People

"Therefore we humbly beg Leave to Recommend to Your Excellency & Honours one John Duzenburie for a sober Honest man & one we think Qualified for discharging so Important a Trust we therefore beg he may be appointed or some other person Whom Your Excellency & Honours may think more proper & we Your Pittitioners as in duty bound shall Ever Pray—

John Emley
Henry Stoll
Isaac Fitz Randolph
Dick Van Vlieat
William Fleming
Jno. Sherrerd
Barfoot Brunson
Chris. Skillman
Isaac Warwick
Daniel Polhamus
Thompson Price
Boltis Pickle
John Wikoff
Daniel Pursel
Nathaniel Britton
Denes Pursel
Martin Swick
William Craig
Henrich Horne
Harbart Weingarten
John Jackson
Christ Schmitt
James Stewart
Peter Haughawout
Jacob Paxson
Walter mc farlan
Henry Shaver
James Bird
Jacob Moore
H Rheinschmidt
William Morkel
Petter Schmit
Peder Dilsz
William Otto
John Heunch Herr
Peter Kimble
Joseph Snyder
Peter Wikoff
Isaac Bonnel
Samuel Alexander
Phillip Palmer
Andrew Pickings
Daniel Shannon
Jacob Haughawout
Bars. McShane
James Pealt
James Crage
Adam Crise
Henry wort
John Romine
ADrian Laforge
Conrod wingardemer
Caspear Smith
Joseph weebster
William Loudon
John Hiller
Samuel Lowdon
William Culberson
Richard Mount
Francis hollinhead
Benj Drake
Jacobus Johnson
Joseph Caimberlin
James mc keighen
Henry Clomon
William Smith
Christ Bodenhamer
Jacob Jollenberger
Geo Birkhead
Anthony Lazeir
Nicholas Lazier
Daniel Plackentash
Ezekiel Oliver
McAhijah Oliver
John Laycock
John Frampton juni
James mc farlin"

Many of these names belong to families still living in this county. In some cases they have undergone changes. Stoll has become Stull; Van Vlieat, Van Fleet and Vliet; Warwick, Warrick; Shaver, Shafer; Schmit, Smith; Dilsz, Dilts; Pealt, Pelse; Crage, Craig; Wort, Wert and Weart; and Caimberlin, Chamberlin. Some surnames were spelled differently by the same family.

Boltis Pickle was the great-grandfather of Hon. Baltis Pickle, of Flemington. Henrich Horne and nine others are written in Dutch. Jacob Haughawout was the patriarch of the Haughawouts. He had two sons, Jacob and Peter.

John Dusenbury, the candidate for civil magistrate, lived a mile and a half from Everitt's Mill, on the road to Alexandria (now Frenchtown). He did not receive the appointment for which the people petitioned, nor any one else in the township. The nearest Justices of the Peace were Dr. John Rockhill, of Bethlehem, and Charles Hoff, of Kingwood (now Franklin), both residing at Pittstown, at that time called Hoff's.

H. RACE.

FRIENDS IN LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE IN 1670.—From a work of which there are few copies in this country I take the following names of well-known Pennsylvania and New Jersey families.

"Local Gleanings of Lancashire and Cheshire," Sept., 1876, published, I believe, by J. P. Earwaker. P. 233, No. 408, "A List of the Quakers in Lancashire and Cheshire c[irca] 1670."

"The following long list of Lancashire and Cheshire names occurs in a roll in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. It professes to give the names of those Quakers who had been convicted as recusants for not attending divine service, &c., in the parish churches, who had been heavily fined in consequence." It is copied from the Exchequer Rolls.

"Cheshire, John Sharples of Hatherton
Lancashire, James Sikes of Royton [near Oldham]
Geo. Satterthwaite of Caton [in Lancashire Parish]
Wm. Satterthwaite of Hawkshead
Daniel Bispham, coller maker Bickerstaff [in Ormskirk parish]
Susan Bispham, Spinster
Joseph Coppock, grocer Ormskirk
Joshua Crosbie grocer
Thomas Crosbie grocer and Elizabeth his wife"

The above has twenty-one names in Cheshire and ninety in Lancashire.

W. J. P.

GENEALOGY OF THE LEA FAMILY.—Mr. J. Henry Lea, of Fairhaven, Mass., who has completed a history of the Trumbull family, is now in England making researches for his genealogy of the Lea Family, the American part being practically finished.

THE PENNSYLVANIA LAND CO.— June 26 1760

The Commissioners named and appointed in, and by an "Act of Parliament passed in the 33d Year of his present Majesty's Reign," intitled, "An Act for vesting certain Estates in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Maryland, belonging to the Proprietors of a Partnership commonly called The Pennsylvania Land Company in London, in Trustees to be sold, and for other purposes therein mentioned;" do hereby give Notice, That all Persons who have or claim any of the 482 unclaimed Shares in the said Partnership, or any Receipts signed and given out for the same, by Thomas Story in the said Act named, or any Right to any other Share

or Interest in the said Partnership, or any Receipts for the same, are to claim and make out their respective Right thereto, and produce the Receipts, probate of the Wills, Assignments, or other Evidence under which they respectively claim, to the said Commissioners, before the First Day of January 1763; or otherwise they will be precluded from any Dividend of the Money which shall arise by or from the Sale of the Lands, Tenements or Hereditaments, which shall be sold in Pursuance of the said Act, and other the Estate belonging to the said Partnership, by the said Act directed to be divided. And that the said Commissioners will meet to execute the Powers and authorities vested in them, by the said Act, at the House of Mr. Thomas Hyam, in Philpot lane London, between the Hours of Nine and Twelve of the Forenoon on Wednesday the 9th instant, Wednesday the 13 of August, and Wednesday the 10 of September 1760, and on the first Wednesday in every succeeding Month until further notice.

By Order of the Commissioners

LAURENCE HOLKER, *Clerk.*

St. Thomas Apostles, London. W. J. P.

PORTRAITS OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.—We have received the following additions to our list of "Portraits of Benjamin Franklin," PENNA. MAG., Vol. XI. No. 2: Eugene M. Cramp, Esq., of *The Times*, Philadelphia, writes: "In July of 1880 there hung in the National Portrait Gallery, South Kensington Museum, London, a portrait of this distinguished American. The portrait was about two-thirds life size, in oil, and was fair in execution. It hung so high that I was unable to get the name of the artist, even if the name had appeared on the canvas, of which fact I am not at all certain."

Charles W. Hassler, Esq., of New York, writes: "The picture painted by Joseph Sifrède Duplessis, in 1778, was shortly after in the possession of M. Le Ray de Chaumont," etc.

NECROLOGY.—The deaths of the following Resident Members have been reported since July 1 last:

James S. Spencer, Jr., elected 20th October, 1846.

James M. Vance, elected 10th April, 1880.

OBITUARY NOTICES, PENNSYLVANIA GAZETTE.—Saturday last, John Hugg, Esq; a Justice of the Peace, and one of the Kings Council in the Jerseys, riding from home in the morning, was as is supposed taken ill about a mile from his house, and getting off his horse, he spread his cloak on the ground to lie down on, and having tucked his gloves under the saddle girth, and hung his whip through one of the rings, he turned the horse loose, which went home; and put the people on searching for his master. They soon found him in the circumstances above mentioned, and speechless, they carried him home and he died that evening.

Febry 16. 1730/1.

We hear from Cecil County in Maryland, That the Rev: Mr. Ormston, minister of the church there, is lately dead. His man left him in good health, sitting by the fire, while he went to a neighbours house; but at his return found him lying upon the hearth, his pipe by his side, and his head burned off in the fire. He was formerly minister of the church in this city.

Novr 18. 1731.

New York July 5. Thursday last at four o'clock in the morning, died here in an apoplectic fit, his excellency John Montgomery, Esq;

our Governor, and was interred in the Kings Chapel, on the evening of the Friday following; He was a gentleman of an ancient family; and has under three successive reigns, been employed in several places of great honor and trust.

July 8. 1731.

On Friday last departed this life, in 53d year of his age, Henry Harrison, Esq; in whom his family have lost one of the best of parents, and husbands, and the public one of its most useful members. He was an alderman of this city, had filled the office of major, was a manager of the Public Hospital, and one of the vestrymen of Christ Church &c in all of which public characters, as well as in numerous private arbitrations, wherein he was employed, he acquitted himself with steadfast integrity, firmness, and application to business. In a long and severe illness, wherewith he was visited, and particularly in his last hours, he showed the utmost fortitude and resignation, which he was not ashamed to confess, he derived from his sincere belief, in the truth and efficacy of the christian religion. In order to set an example of that economy, necessary in the present distressed situation of our affairs, his family were prevailed on to bury him in the new mode; his pall supported by six gentlemen (who had been his particular friends) without mourning; and attended to the grave, on Sunday evening last, by most of the principal inhabitants of this city.

Jany: 9 1766.

On Wednesday, the 15th instant, died, much lamented, Charles Norris, Esq; one of the trustees of the General Loan Office of this Province; a gentleman not less distinguishable for his integrity and easy access in public trusts, than his benevolence, and engaging deportment in private life. By his removal the community have lost a worthy member, his family an affectionate relation, and his acquaintance a disinterested friend. On the Friday following his remains, generally accompanied by his fellow citizens, were interred in the burying place of the Quakers, the society with whom he always professed.

Jany 23. 1766.

Queries.

Death of Governor William Denny.—The date of death of William Denny, one of the Provincial Governors of Pennsylvania, is requested. In the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of October 25, 1770, the following advertisement appears:

To be Sold at Public Vendue,

On the 24th day of November next at the London Coffee House, The Country Seat of William Denny, Esq., late Governor of this Province, near the Falls of Schuylkill, containing 44 acres and 20 perches; there are on the premises, a good dwelling-house, kitchen, stable for six horses, a good draw well, and orchard; 15 acres, 3 quarters and 20 perches; on a part whereof the buildings and other conveniences are erected, the purchaser will have an estate in fee, and in the residue, a term of 69 years and 6 months.

Should any person incline to purchase at private sale, they may know the terms by applying J. Galloway.

Herbert-Morgan.—*The Magazine of American History* for the present month prints two letters containing some very interesting matter.

The first, according to the heading, is "from *General* Obediah Herbert of New Jersey, to his son Jacob V. W. Herbert," and is dated "Herbertsville, Nov. 18th, 1831." Never having heard of General Herbert, I tried to learn something about him, but failed. In General Stryker's *Official Register of the Officers and Men of New Jersey in the Revolutionary War*, p. 627, I found an Obediah Herbert *a private* in the Middlesex County, N. J., militia. As there is a Herbertville in this county, this may be the man mentioned in *The Magazine of American History*. I would be pleased to know if it is, and if so, how and when he acquired the rank and title of "General."

The second letter is "from Charles Morgan of Louisiana to his grandnephew, Jacob V. W. Herbert," and an introductory note by the Editor says, "Charles Morgan was a cousin of General Daniel Morgan of Revolutionary fame." This, if a fact, is a very interesting one, wholly unknown to General Daniel Morgan's descendants, and it is to be hoped the learned editor will immediately clear up the mystery regarding the *alleged* relationship. I. C.

Alleghany, Pa., June 2, 1887.

JOHANN MATTHIAS KRAMER.—The New York Colonial manuscripts, in the State Library at Albany, contain, among other more or less heterogeneous records, two letters in German, of which the translation follows:

High-born Baron
Most Gracious General!

Whereas your Excellency is undoubtedly the same distinguished person, to whom I had the honor of paying my humble respects a number of years ago at Nuremberg on the occasion of the presence there of the unfortunate Baron Freytag, and as some time ago I was informed of your presence in this distant part of the globe; I consider myself extremely happy in being able, to assure your Excellency also here of my continued humblest respects, little as I expected to have this honor and special pleasure again during my life.

Your Excellency's known affability leads me to hope, that you will not take it amiss, if I take the liberty of informing you of my coming here and of some of its results. I left the Hanoverian University at Goettingen, where I had been Professor Linguarum Occidentalium for several years, because the number of students diminished daily and with it my income and the news from this country with the praise of its charms, coming from time to time to me in Germany, as other well meant intentions persuaded me to come hither with my little family; but meanwhile the more dangerous events of the times have turned out so badly for me, that failing to earn as much as I expected, I find myself now very embarrassed, from which situation I am patiently waiting to be released by God's gracious help, hoping that His paternal Providence, watching over us all, will turn everything to the best.

I pray the Almighty to deliver your Excellency from all unpleasantness and grant you again complete health, vouchsafing it to you for a long time! Recommending myself to your honorable grace, I remain with great respect

Highborn Baron,
Your Noble Excellency,
General,
Your most humble & obedient
servant
JOHANN MATTHIAS KRAMER.

Philadelphia
18th of May 1756.

This letter is not addressed, but the following, written on the same day, gives a clue. It reads in translation:

NOBLE AND VERY RESPECTED SIR.

A friend here has lately informed me, that your Honor has special facility of access to his Excellency, General Baron Dieskau, now at New York. As I have had the honor, to know this General in Germany many years ago and therefore am desirous, to pay my respects to him by a few lines; your Honor will not consider it an undue liberty, if a person, unknown to you, requests you to hand the enclosure to his Excellency, the General, and, should his Excellency be pleased to honor me with a reply, to have the same forwarded to me by some safe hand. I would like to do any service for your Honor, which you may command, and with friendly salutations remain, very respected Sir,

Your Honors

Philadelphia
May 18, 1756

Very obedient servant
JOHANN MATTHIAS KRAMER,
Linguar. Occindental. Professor.

I request your Honor, in order to insure safe delivery of a reply, that it be directed

To John Matth. Kramer
To the Care Mr. Christian Grassold
Taylor, living in Strawberry Alley
to Philadelphia.

A correspondence with the authorities of the University at Goettingen has elicited the following information concerning the writer of the above letters *previous* to his arrival in America. He was a native of Nuremberg, although the date of his birth is not known. From July, 1746, to July, 1753, he was *Lector*, not Professor, of the Italian language at the University of Goettingen, in which capacity he received a fixed salary, the amount not being stated in the University records. Before coming to Goettingen, he had been a teacher of Italian at Hamburg. He was relieved from his duties as Lector at his own request, explained by the plea that he felt his bodily strength diminishing. According to Meusel,[1] Kramer gave up his place in order to go to America, where he had been before.

What is known of him in Philadelphia? If he was no better versed in the *linguæ occidentales* than in German, he cannot have been a very successful teacher, for although his letters are orthographically correct, according to the rules (lack of rules?) prevalent in the last century, his phraseology and style are simply abominable. B. FERNOW.

[1] Lexicon der teutschen Schriftstellen.

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COMTE DE BROGLIE,

THE PROPOSED STADTHOLDER OF AMERICA.

BY CHARLES J. STILLÉ, LL.D.

I.

In the Sixth Volume of Mr. Bancroft's history (ed. of 1879, p. 519) we find the following paragraph:

"The Count de Broglie, disclaiming the ambition of becoming the sovereign of the United States, insinuated his willingness to be for a period of years its William of Orange, provided he could be assured of a large grant of money before embarkation, an ample revenue, the highest military rank, the direction of foreign relations during his command, and a princely annuity for life after his return."

This seems at the first glance a most extraordinary statement, all the more so because Mr. Bancroft makes no further explanation of it, and indeed never refers again to the subject in his work. To most readers of our Revolutionary history the name of De Broglie is as little known

as the functions of the *stadtholderate* to which he is said to have aspired. We feel naturally curious to understand who this Frenchman was that was bold enough within three months after the Declaration of Independence to propose to supplant Washington in the leadership of our armies, and to establish here a little understood form of government called a *stadtholderate*, of which he was to be the chief. What was his plan? who were his advisers in this country or in France? what did he propose to do? how far did he carry out his project? and how far did he have the support of the French government therein? No trace of any such scheme is to be found in our archives or diplomatic correspondence. The secret has become known to this generation only. It was apparently discovered, or at least first revealed, by Mr. Frederick Kapp while engaged in writing the Memoirs of Baron de Kalb, a foreign officer of distinction, who held the rank of major-general in our service, and who was killed at the battle of Camden. The papers preserved by the family of De Kalb reveal all the particulars of the plot, the nature and extent of the military power we were asked to confer upon De Broglie, as well as the negotiations which led to its proposal. They give us, also, the names of the parties who were active participants in it, and the reasons for the failure of the scheme. The whole correspondence has been preserved, and Mr. Kapp has made free use of it in explaining how far his hero was the chief agent in the conspiracy. It shows clearly that the Comte de Broglie made in the autumn of 1776 a distinct proposition to the American commissioner, Silas Deane, such as Mr. Bancroft has described, and that this proposition was to have been submitted by Deane to Congress.

It is perhaps well that the secret was so carefully preserved for nearly a century. Not to speak of the indignation against France which would have been roused in this country had this scheme been divulged during the Revolution (a feeling which might have resulted in destroying any hope of our future alliance with that country), we cannot fail to see on examining the papers that Deane's part in it, as it

appears on the surface, would have destroyed all the confidence of his countrymen in him as a diplomatic agent. Now that we understand from the details of the negotiation what Deane's motives really were, we must regard his conduct as showing rare skill, and must confess that this "Connecticut schoolmaster," as his enemies scornfully called him, showed himself an apt pupil in the diplomatic art, so far at least as the management of this business was concerned.

The story told in the correspondence of De Kalb and printed in his "Life" is confirmed by a work recently published by the French government, entitled "*Participation de la France à l'établissement des États-Unis d'Amérique.*" This work, which consists of two large quarto volumes, is the most valuable contribution to what has been hitherto regarded as the secret history of the early part of the Revolution that has yet appeared. It is said to contain all the documents still remaining in the archives of the French government which refer to the negotiations in which France was in any way concerned with us or on our account down to the date of the Treaty of Alliance, in February, 1778, including not only the correspondence with us, but that with England and Spain also. Most of these documents are now printed for the first time, and they throw light upon the secret motives of many transactions during the Revolution which have hitherto been shrouded in mystery. So far as this scheme of the Comte de Broglie is concerned, they supplement and confirm the statements made in the De Kalb correspondence. The collection does not seem to contain the letters of De Kalb, although it is understood that Deane, when he had no further use for them, furnished copies of them to Gérard, the chief clerk of the foreign office, so that at one time they were probably deposited in the ministry. Perhaps it was thought wise to destroy them. If these papers tell the truth, it is plain that one of the most eminent Frenchmen of his day, the Comte de Broglie,—a man of illustrious family, of high rank in the army, who was the brother of Maréchal de Broglie (the

only one of all the French generals in the Seven Years' War who gained any reputation), and the trusted agent of Louis XV. in many most important secret missions,—was actively concerned in this movement, either as its originator or as its principal instrument; that the chief negotiator employed by him was De Kalb; that the count made through Silas Deane a formal proposition to Congress that he should be made protector or stadtholder here; that Deane for his own purposes—which were based upon his anxious desire to secure the French alliance—encouraged him, and promised to De Kalb and to sixteen officers recommended by him and who had served under the Comte de Broglie, commissions in the American army; that he aided them to embark at Havre on the vessels which were then laden there with military supplies for us, which had been secured by the intervention of Deane, and that their departure was prevented by the timely intervention of the English government, who claimed that these supplies were intended for us, and that by sending them France would be guilty of a breach of neutrality.

How far the French government was really at the bottom of this project, and how far it was adopted as an ingenious method of accomplishing its earnest wish, to separate the colonies from England without going to war with her, must probably always remain a mystery. The living witnesses to these transactions are, of course, all gone, and the papers which have been preserved and which contain a secret which, had it been fully known at the time of the Revolution, would have doubtless brought on the war which France so much dreaded, do not enlighten us fully on that point. It is true that all the evidence of the aid and encouragement given us by France previous to our alliance was purposely covered up, so that the proposed aid could be disavowed when it became necessary to evade responsibility. But it is not likely that such a scheme as this could have been set on foot in France, and that Deane could have been consulted about it, and have acquiesced in the proposal, without at least the knowledge if not the secret connivance of the French

government. That government, to which diplomatic lying was easy and habitual, always insisted in its correspondence with the English that it had no part in any schemes to aid us, and, of course, there was every motive on our part to keep silence so as not to involve our friends in trouble. These are speculations, however, on which light will be thrown by the narrative, but in the mean time one thing at least is clear, that the transactions, as we find them recorded, show, on the part of the Frenchmen interested in our affairs, an ignorance of the real condition of things here which seems almost incredible, and that when they talked of helping us they knew nothing of the character of our people and of the principles and aims which were at stake in the struggle.

II.

To explain this proposed intervention of the Comte de Broglie and his followers in the Revolutionary war we must go back and give a sketch of the progress which had been made by the United States in securing the assistance of France up to the time when his offer of aid was made to Congress. That body, it will be remembered, in the early part of the year 1776 had sent Mr. Silas Deane as commissioner to France. His instructions were to propose an alliance offensive and defensive with that country, or, in default of that, a treaty of commerce, and if the way should not seem to be open at once for the conclusion of such arrangements, then he was to confine himself to obtaining permission for the purchase in France of military supplies and equipments for the needs of an army of twenty-five thousand men. Mr. Deane arrived in Bordeaux in March, 1776. In June of that year he was told by the Comte de Vergennes, to whom he had been privately presented, that all suggestions or propositions of alliance between the two countries, or even of a commercial treaty, were then ill timed, as France had no desire to embark in a war with England in order to aid us, but that at the same time the government was willing as a token of its good will to the

Americans to grant permission for the purchase in a secret and underhand way of military supplies in that country. This was the beginning of the negotiation of Deane with Beaumarchais, who was in reality the secret agent of the French government. By his energy and his close relations to the government the needed supplies were gathered in a few months, laden upon vessels in different seaports in France, and by the end of the year the vessels were ready to sail. Deane's success in these negotiations was far greater than he had ever dared to hope, and he felt that much of it was due to the friendly sympathy which was felt and expressed for the American cause in the higher society in Paris. While the government was obliged to be careful lest it should violate openly its obligations of neutrality with England, public opinion, as it was expressed outside official circles, set any danger of offending England at defiance. The bitter recollection of the humiliation they had suffered by the treaty of 1763 made the French reckless. The great object which Deane had in view was to keep alive this active sympathy of the French government and people without involving France in a war with England. In doing this he had a most difficult and delicate task to perform. He was forced to appeal to motives of a totally opposite character: on the one hand, to that of self-interest, insisting upon our determination to fight until we had secured our independence, thereby ruining England and avenging France; and, on the other, to their love of liberty invoking that sympathy with our cause which animated the small but earnest-minded body of enthusiasts of whom La Fayette was the representative.

Meantime he made free use of the permission which had been given him of purchasing through Beaumarchais military equipments and supplies of all kinds. Every step he took was narrowly watched by English spies, and the ambassador openly spoke of the aid which the French were giving us. He made frequent complaints on this subject, and orders were given, which were for a short time enforced, suspending the operations of Du Coudray, who was

the officer employed by the French government to select the artillery we needed from the arsenals. Still the work went on after a short interval, and the articles we had purchased, or most of them, were at last received at the seaports, and were laden upon the vessels which were ostensibly to sail for a French colony, St. Domingo, but whose real destination was this country.

Not satisfied with having secured the arms and clothing for us (a duty which, by the way, was the only one prescribed by his commission), Deane, in his anxious desire to help his countrymen, did not hesitate to exceed his authority. His friend Beaumarchais having made up his mind that the battle of Long Island had been lost owing to the inferiority of the American artillery and the incapacity of its officers, he determined to form an artillery corps composed entirely of Frenchmen. He placed at the head of this corps Du Coudray, an officer of great merit and experience, an appointment which in the end gave him infinite trouble, as Du Coudray did not hesitate on his arrival here to claim that he was entitled to take the supreme and almost independent command of that arm of the service, and entirely disclaimed the binding force of any obligation which he had entered into with Beaumarchais or Deane in regard to it. Deane also promised commissions to several artillery officers serving under Du Coudray, and the whole corps with these pretensions reached America.

The result, so far as Deane was concerned, was nothing but censure on the part of Congress for his misguided zeal, and a ferment among our own artillery officers which brought about the resignations of Knox, Greene, and Sullivan, officers whom, of course, we could not afford to give up, and who were with difficulty persuaded by Congress to withdraw their resignations. The news that Deane was enrolling officers for our service soon spread in Paris, and the consequence was that he was overwhelmed with offers of service from French officers, or, as he expressed it himself, he was "well-nigh harassed to death by these applications." Two strange things about this engagement of officers are to

be noted: 1. That he, Deane, had no authority from Congress to make it; and 2. That the French government, with whom he was in daily confidential relations, should have looked on quietly and permitted the enrolment to take place. Certainly this seems a far clearer case of breach of neutrality on the part of the French than that committed by sending us military supplies which France assured the English government were destined for one of its own colonies. Deane, it is to be remembered, at this time was acting quite alone; Franklin not having arrived, and Arthur Lee not having yet joined him. He believed, it is very plain, that he was authorized to do anything which in his judgment would advance our cause, not stopping to consider whether such acts were justified by the terms of the commission under which he was acting.

With this estimate of his powers he met De Kalb. He was recommended to him by such men as De Broglie, Noailles, La Fayette, and others, who had known him in the Seven Years' War as a German officer in the French service, where he was said to have distinguished himself greatly as an officer on the staff of the Comte de Broglie. He was spoken of as a highly-instructed and efficient officer, who spoke English well, and as specially qualified to train the raw levies of which a large portion of our army was composed. He was the friend of the most conspicuous advocates of our cause in Paris, and it seemed, therefore, that his claims could not be well set aside. Deane gave him (on 20th November, 1776) and six of his companions commissions in our service. He and Du Mauroy, a soldier of merit, to whom De Broglie was particularly attached, were made major-generals, and the others were given the rank which De Kalb designated as suitable for them. A few days afterwards nine more officers of different grades, all of the *entourage* of the Comte de Broglie, and who had seen service under him, were appointed.[1] The result

[1] The following is a list of the names of those who were to have embarked with De Kalb from Havre: Mauroy, *Major-General;* De Senneville, Du Baysons, Du Bois Martin, Amariton, *Majors;* De Fayolles,

was that De Kalb was to be sent to this country at the close of the year 1776 with a complete staff of his own officers, large enough at least to begin the work which his patron, the Comte de Broglie, proposed to do here. It is not probable that De Kalb in the beginning was made fully acquainted with the part he was expected to play. He seems to have entered in good faith upon our service, and his subsequent career and his heroic death would show that when—after the scheme of De Broglie's failed—he came to this country he was a thoroughly loyal servant of the American government, and so he remained until he was killed in its service. During the few weeks before his departure he was on the most intimate terms with Deane and inspired him apparently with full confidence. De Broglie, who was then at his château of Ruffec, in Normandy, finding that his relations with Deane were so friendly, decided that he would send him his instructions in regard to the part he was to act on his arrival in America some weeks before his departure, so that he might communicate them to Deane and that Deane, thus fully understanding his plans, might urge their adoption on Congress. He therefore communicated his views to De Kalb, not directly, but through his secretary, Dubois Martin, and directed him to submit them in his own way and language to Deane. This was in November, 1776. De Kalb accordingly sent Deane a letter in which he urged the reasons for making De Broglie stadtholder, in terms which, as we shall see, seem to imply on his part a long familiarity with the arguments in favor of that proposition. But the strangest part of this business is that Deane seems to have listened to all this talk with complacency, if not with approval, forgetting that it might be regarded as involving him in a charge of treasonable conspiracy. The impression his conduct made on De Kalb evidently was

De Holtzendorff, De Failly, *Lieutenant-Colonels;* De Roth, De Gérard, De Vrigny, *Captains;* De Roseval, De Montis, De Grangez, Candon, *Lieutenants.* A number of these officers deserted the cause and are not found among those who embarked in April, 1777, at Bordeaux with De Kalb and La Fayette.

that he favored this extraordinary scheme, for in a letter which De Kalb wrote to Dubois Martin in the early part of December he says, after he had submitted the project to Deane, "*que ses demandes allaient à souhait.*" De Kalb went to Havre with his officers on the 10th of December, expecting to embark within a day or two. Just at this time the arrival of Dr. Franklin at Nantes as an additional commissioner was announced. Dubois Martin at once wrote to De Kalb to come to Paris and urge the question of De Broglie's intervention upon Franklin, who, it was thought, coming fresh from Congress, might have some new instructions, as he had done with Mr. Deane. De Kalb obeyed the order and came to Paris. What impression he made on Dr. Franklin, and how the expedition was broken up, and how and why the scheme of De Broglie was never submitted to Congress, we shall consider after laying before the reader the text of De Broglie's plan. It was, as we have said, in the form of a letter by De Kalb to Deane, was dated December 17, 1776, and was entitled "*Projet dont l'exécution déciderait peut-être le succès de la cause de la liberté des États-Unis d'Amérique sans que la cour de France parût y avoir pour le présent la moindre part.*"

It is necessary to a full understanding of this negotiation to translate a considerable portion of this *exposé* or letter. He says,—

"In comparing the condition of the United States with that of Holland when it suffered from the tyranny of its sovereign, I think that the same system which proved so advantageous for the establishment of the republic in the Low Countries would produce a similar effect in the United States.

"The beginning of the revolution in America is an event of the utmost importance to all the European powers, but especially to France, which would take any measure to bring about the formal separation of the Colonies from the Mother Country which did not involve war with England. This is to be inferred from the aid already secretly furnished by France to the Americans.

"But in my opinion what is necessary for these States,

now in the position of mere children, is some foreign troops, and especially a commander of a high reputation in Europe, —one whose capacity for commanding an army is equal to that of the Duke of Brunswick or Frederick the Great, who should unite a name made illustrious by many heroes to a long military experience, and to qualities fitted to conduct such an enterprise with prudence, integrity, and economy under the control of Congress."

After stating that America can raise one hundred thousand troops, brave men indeed, but few trained officers, he speaks in complimentary terms of the merits and services of Washington, but then goes on to say,—

"That Congress itself seems to admit that it has need of foreign aid is clear, since it has applied to France for arms and for *officers*, that many had been enrolled who were very inferior persons; and that evidently what Congress needed most, by its own admission, was the election of a chief commander who should have power to choose his own subordinates, and that of course such a chief would select the best, who would be Frenchmen and willing to follow wherever he would lead."

He thinks that the appointment of such a man to the supreme command would be equal to an additional force of twenty thousand men, would double the efficiency of the American army, and, especially, that it would completely control in the interest of economy the military expenses.

The writer is quite certain that such a man can be found in France; that his name, when announced, will unite all lovers of America and all capable soldiers in Europe. His terms would probably be his appointment as field-marshal and generalissimo, with a considerable sum of ready money for the support of his family during his absence from France.

In reply to the objections which may be made to this scheme, as that a man with such extended powers, with a large number of his officers completely subject to him, might be tempted to destroy the liberties of the country and make himself its master, he replies,—1. That his power would be subordinate to that of Congress, and that he would have the military control only. 2. That he (the writer) would risk his

head that the noble and generous heart of his chief would be incapable of anything of the kind. After this assurance he speaks of the self-denial which the proposed chief will be forced to impose upon himself in leaving France, where he is on the point of being named *maréchal*, and that, therefore, it should be understood that if the Americans have need of his services they should ask the King of France to name their generalissimo duke and peer of France.

He concludes by leaving the whole subject in the hands of Messrs. Franklin and Deane, only urging them to profound secrecy in regard to the project which he had submitted to them.

This letter is followed in the De Kalb correspondence by one from the Comte de Broglie himself to De Kalb of a few days' later date. This letter Mr. Bancroft says he has seen in the handwriting of the count. In it he speaks, as will be observed, very much more freely of his intentions when he becomes generalissimo than his agent did in his letter to the American commissioner. He says "that the essential thing is that there should be a military and political director, who would understand how to control and direct the Frenchmen around him." He tells him that there need not be many superior officers, enough only to control the army, which in its government will be wholly separate from that of the country itself. He insists that all the officers should be devoted to himself. As to his rank, it should be very high. He suggests that of the Prince of Nassau (stadtholder). He should have no other authority than that of the command of the army, *except* that he should conduct the negotiations with foreign powers. De Kalb is told that only on these conditions would he take the command, and that under no circumstances would he hold it longer than three years. He hopes that this last condition may dissipate any fear that he may be aspiring to be king of the country. He speaks of the necessity of making it clear to Congress on his (De Kalb's) arrival that if it is disposed to invite him to be generalissimo (concerning which, by the way, he seems never to have had the slightest misgiving), it

must expect to spend a great deal of money to enable him and his companions to prepare properly for the voyage. The things he insists upon particularly are his rank, abundant pay, and absolute control (that is, freedom from the interference of Congress) over the army, and the direction of the negotiations with foreign powers. There is not a word from the beginning to the end of the correspondence showing the slightest knowledge of or interest in the principles which we were contending for in the war.

The motive and object of the count are made very clear when he says plainly in closing this letter, "I am willing to serve [America] in a civil and military capacity, but with all the powers and dignities essential to such a position, and with an absolute authority which must be firmly supported by Congress over those under my command."

We thus had in this country a narrow escape from being forced to decide in the midst of a revolution, when we were surrounded by countless embarrassments arising from our own weakness in conducting the war, whether we should choose between the French king or the English king as our *suzerain*. There can be little doubt that both Deane and the French officers, who, with De Kalb, and at other times enrolled themselves in our service (with the exception of La Fayette), were fully convinced that their government, which had permitted them to make the engagement, did not really object to their enrolment and departure, and that the precautions and disguises which it assumed were merely intended as a cloak for its ulterior purposes when it should suit its convenience openly to avow them. But, fortunately for all parties concerned, these *avant-courriers* of the Comte de Broglie were not allowed to depart from France; and the expedition was wholly broken up. The spies of Lord Stormont, the English minister, told him of the preparations which were being made at Havre for the sailing of the three ships, all of them laden with military supplies for us, and one of them conveying Du Coudray and his artillerists, while De Kalb and his companions were to embark on the other two. Lord Stormont, of course, at once complained

to the French Court, and the consequence was an order detaining all three vessels. One, however,—that bearing Du Coudray,—unfortunately for us, escaped and reached America. The other two were kept so long under arrest, and there seemed so little prospect of their being released, that De Kalb's officers became disheartened and dispersed.

It is worth considering that the order for the detention of the vessels reached Havre on the 13th of December, only a few days after Dubois Martin, the secretary of the Comte de Broglie, had directed De Kalb to submit his propositions to Franklin. It would add a good deal to our knowledge of the course of American history at this crisis, and of the character of Franklin, if we could discern his real opinion of this most extraordinary scheme. But not a line or word from Franklin on the subject appears, as I have said, or has been discovered in our own archives, or in our diplomatic correspondence, or in those of the French government, or in his private letters. We have every reason to believe that this project, when it failed, in December, 1776, was regarded as dead and buried beyond resurrection, and that it was never communicated to the American government. Indeed, the secret was, for obvious reasons, so well kept that it was entirely unknown until the present generation. It is provoking that we cannot tell how the common sense and sagacity, to say nothing of the patriotism, of Franklin, fresh from the enthusiasm of liberty which characterized the early history of the Continental Congress, regarded such a proposition. Whatever he thought he kept to himself all through his life. He could not help feeling that the encouragement and apparent acquiescence in this plan on the part of Deane had at least accomplished one great object,—that of keeping alive the active sympathy of French public opinion with us, thus paving the way for a future and not distant alliance with France on fair and honorable terms. He was probably not very much disappointed when the expedition was stopped by the complaints of the English government, for had it sailed, and had De Kalb attempted to carry out his instructions on his arrival,

Franklin's mission to France, the object of which was to make her an ally as a coequal sovereign, not to recognize her as a master who could conveniently wreak vengeance upon England by making us an instrument for that purpose, would have proved absolutely fruitless. Deane and Franklin did many wise things in humoring the French. They listened to all their impracticable *projets* with infinite patience. While appearing to acquiesce in them "they fooled to the top of their bent" those who, while they were professing a desire to aid us, had in reality only their own selfish ends to gain. They were disposed to affect, Franklin particularly, a certain simplicity of manner which imposed upon the veteran diplomatists with whom they were dealing. They listened to the multifarious schemes which were presented to them for terminating the war by their aid without involving France in hostilities, but they knew that the only aid we could receive from that country which would be worth anything to us was a treaty recognizing our independence and membership of the family of nations, and an alliance upon equal terms. We cannot doubt that this ingenious scheme for substituting a French protectorate for a French alliance never really imposed upon either Franklin or Deane. They had never hinted or suggested that a relation such as that proposed would in any way be a proper response to our application to France for aid. Our object was not merely separation from England, but absolute independence, so that we might work out our own destiny in our own way; and this implied absolute control on our part of all powers, military and civil, necessary to accomplish that end. Besides, the attempt to place our army under the direction of men whom the great mass of our population had been trained from their childhood to distrust as Frenchmen and Catholics would undoubtedly have led to a serious discontent sooner or later. And then, in addition to all this, the expectation that we would abandon our great cause into the hands of those whose only merit was that of professional soldiers, while at the same time they had no heart in our quarrel, implies an ignorance of our real character and motives, to

say nothing of that intense love of independence which was the secret source of the strength of both, which at this day it is difficult to comprehend. What makes this ignorance the more remarkable is that De Kalb had been sent to this country in 1768 by Choiseul to ascertain the temper of the people, at that time much exasperated by the tax measures which followed the repeal of the Stamp Act, and to report upon their dispositions and means of resistance. He spent nearly a year in this country and in Canada, and his report is a somewhat intelligent account of the condition of things here at that time; and how he could have been induced, from what he saw here, to believe that such an intervention in our quarrel as that proposed by De Broglie would be desirable for the end he had in view, or even practicable for any end, it is hard to understand. We can only explain it by remembering that these Frenchmen were mere soldiers of fortune, ready to serve any cause, provided the rank and pay were satisfactory. If they had any special interest in the war it was that it would humiliate England, and for that purpose they were willing to serve us with zeal, provided they did not involve their own country in war and could gain glory for themselves. Of course none of these were American objects, and Congress, upon the arrival of those Frenchmen who had been promised commissions by Silas Deane, soon saw through their motives and took the proper measure of these gentlemen. It gave commissions to a few of those of the higher grades who had been engaged by Deane. Men like La Fayette, De Kalb, Steuben, Pulaski, Du Coudray, and a few others, were given high rank, and proved to be officers of great merit, but Congress refused to ratify the contracts made with most of them, paying them according to the rank which had been promised them by Deane up to a certain day, and, in addition, defraying the expenses of their return voyage to France. These arrangements were made necessary by the profound dissatisfaction which the arrival of these officers and the proposal to give them commissions caused, not only in the army but among the people.

De Kalb was not shaken in his determination to come to this country and to offer us his services by the failure of his first expedition and the dispersion of his companions. He was doubtless as a soldier tempted by the high rank and prospect of distinction which entry into our service held out. He went shortly after the failure to the Château de Ruffec, where he met La Fayette, and with him and the Comte de Broglie he arranged a plan by which his object could be carried out.

La Fayette (who was also of the *entourage* of De Broglie) was making active preparations for his departure. These preparations, as is well known, were made with the utmost secrecy, and he had no expectation of being accompanied by other officers. A number, however, besides De Kalb, some of whom had formed part of his first expedition and who had received commissions in the American army from Deane, were still anxious to embark for America. They were directed to make Bordeaux their rendezvous, and to embark there secretly on the vessel which La Fayette had purchased. La Fayette was arrested when on the point of sailing, but after his escape and various other mishaps his vessel finally got to sea, and in this way it happened that La Fayette and De Kalb reached this country together, with a number of others who hoped to enter our service. We hear no more from any source at this time, although it was only four months since the vessels had been detained at Havre, of the project of De Broglie, nor anything to show that it had been kept alive up to the time of De Kalb's final departure. It suddenly disappears from history. La Fayette, as an officer and intimate friend of De Broglie, never makes any allusion to it, although he must have known all about it, and De Kalb from the time he landed was, as we have said, a most loyal and devoted servant of the American government. An attempt has been made by Mr. Kapp to show that De Kalb was really the leader of the second expedition, that which sailed in the vessel purchased by La Fayette. This is based upon his greater age, rank, and military experience, and his confidential relations with De

Broglie, one of whose staff-officers La Fayette had also been. But if La Fayette was an accomplice in the plans of De Broglie and De Kalb, he must have kept the secret to himself during his whole life. From Silas Deane's point of view—the keeping alive of the sympathy of the French court, the salons, and the cafés—the enrolment "of a man like La Fayette in the American army, with his high birth, his alliances, the great dignities which his family held at court, his considerable estate, his personal merit, his reputation, his disinterestedness, and, above all, his zeal for the liberty of America," was for the purpose he had in view, a *coup de maître.* That he could have placed such a man, whose heroic, not to say romantic, example he well knew would stimulate the ardor of many young noblemen to embark in the American cause, under the control of De Kalb, or have made use of him as an instrument for carrying on the intrigues of De Broglie, is simply inconceivable. La Fayette's well-known and famous declaration of his intention when he received the promise of his commission from Deane shows exactly what his object was when he entered into our service. His thoughts when he wrote the following words were evidently very different from those of De Broglie and De Kalb, trusted friends as they both then were: "I offer myself," he says, "and promise to depart when and how Mr. Deane shall judge proper, to serve the United States with all possible zeal and without any pension or particular allowance, reserving to myself the liberty of returning to Europe when my family or my king shall recall me."

III.

It may be well to say a few words about the historical significance of the term *stadtholderate*, so that we may form some idea of the conditions under which the Comte de Broglie offered his intervention. The stadtholder was originally the title given in Switzerland to the second officer of the civil government of a canton, and he ranked next to the landamman or president. It came in the course of time,

and in other countries, to signify that officer of the government in whom was vested by the civil authority of the State the absolute control and direction of the army, when its safety or existence seemed to depend upon absolute unity of the command of its armed force. This term was so applied to the Prince of Orange-Nassau (to whose rank, as we have seen, the Comte de Broglie desired that his position in this country should be assimilated) by the representatives of the seven united provinces of Holland when they took up arms against their Spanish tyrants. As this was the most conspicuous instance of a stadtholderate in history, no doubt the Comte de Broglie had it in his mind as a model. The word came to have the same meaning as that of Protector or Dictator, and the power exercised under it was similar in kind and quite as extensive in practice as that exercised by military chieftains under either of these titles. Under these various denominations history tells us that many governments, distrusting their powers of resistance except when directed by a great leader, have been constituted. They differed widely in form, but they all had this peculiarity, namely, that the man who was designated to exercise absolutely the military power of a country by the representatives of the civil authority, under whatever name, became in almost every instance faithless to his trust, and that either he or his descendants used the power which had been given him for the benefit of the State to establish a military despotism.

Thus in this sense Julius Cæsar was a stadtholder of the old type, although the title conferred upon him was that of dictator. When he secured the support of the army, which had been intrusted to him by the Senate for the conquest of Gaul, and employed it for his ambitious designs against that body, the Senate was absolutely helpless. He had in point of fact long been dictator before that title was conferred upon him by decree. So in the Middle Age the Italian Republics, grown too weary to defend themselves and too rich and too enervated to fight with success, engaged *condottieri* to do this disagreeable work for them. The chiefs

of these bands became after a while *gonfalonieri* of the towns which they served. They were mere professional soldiers, oftentimes an "organized banditti," as the phrase is, with no other interest or object in their fighting than to secure large pay for their work. The result was that in time these men became the absolute masters of the degenerate republics they served, simply because their military power controlled the civil authority which had appointed them. Thus men like Sforza, Visconti, Bentivoglio, and a host of others, once generals-in-chief, became in time the dukes and absolute lords of the cities they had been hired to protect, and in the end they established the sovereignty of the state in themselves and their descendants. Venice was far too wise to surrender the control of her army to chiefs strong enough to overcome her civil authority. The generals-in-chief, it is true, were all foreigners; but the army of the mainland was composed of Venetians, and the administration, intrenched in its island home and defended by a powerful fleet, was always too strong to be overcome, as was the case in the other States of Italy, by the commanders of her land forces. So later, William, Prince of Orange-Nassau, was appointed by the States of Holland stadtholder solely to protect by force the constitutional rights of those States against the horrible tyranny of the Duke of Alva and Philip II. His loyalty to his trust and the single-minded devotion which he displayed in maintaining those liberties bear a closer resemblance to the course of our great Washington than to that of any other military leader in history; but his descendants as stadtholders were restrained by no such scruples as he felt. Every means they could devise of strengthening the usurpation of power for their own benefit was resorted to. For nearly a hundred years there was a bitter conflict between the Orange and Republican factions, which ended only in the assassination of the titular chief of the republic, the illustrious grand pensionary De Witt, and the establishment of the hereditary regal power in the family of the Prince of Orange. So it was with Cromwell, and so in later days with Napoleon. They both used the armies, the command of

which had been intrusted to them in the expectation that with them they would subjugate the foes of their country, foreign and domestic, to destroy the very body of representatives which had placed them in their position. Everywhere and at all times the testimony of history is uniform; the armed force of a country, once released from the absolute control of the civil power, sooner or later breaks loose from restraints of any other kind and establishes a military despotism more or less absolute, according to circumstances. In the opinion of the American colonists, in accordance with long-settled English traditions, no other danger was so great in a country as the supremacy of the military power. Any system which made such a danger possible, no matter what advantages it might promise, was simply odious to them. Hence it is quite unnecessary to speculate upon the reception which the well-meant but ill-timed proposition of the Comte de Broglie would have met with at the hands of the Americans.

IV.

A man who could make such a proposition as that of the Comte de Broglie to the American Congress, with the expectation that it would be adopted, is a rare curiosity even among the strange race of French political theorists. We are naturally led to inquire who was this man, and what had been his career, that he should have aspired to play the part of William of Orange in our affairs. History does not reveal him to us as it does nearly all the great heroes of revolutions. He was certainly no Julius Cæsar, nor Cromwell, nor even the Prince of Orange, to whom he saw fit to liken himself. He was not a great warrior, nor a great statesman, nor a great diplomatist, nor did he, on the other hand, possess that moral earnestness rooted in the belief of the righteousness of his cause which has so often done much to supply defects in those who have been deliverers of oppressed nations. He was far from possessing the qualities or the training of such men, but for the work in hand, from the stand-point from which he at least viewed it, simply as

a means of avenging France, he had, as he thought, one most important qualification. He had been during nearly all his mature life a secret agent of Louis XV., employed by him in various personal, private, and delicate negotiations, and the knowledge that he held such a position had made him powerful even at a court where his lifelong enemy, Madame de Pompadour, ruled despotically. His power and the *prestige* of his position were all the greater because the nature and extent of the duties of a secret agent were ill defined, and his powers seemed limited only by what he deemed necessary to accomplish the personal wishes of a despotic king in his intercourse with his brother sovereigns. What the general functions of a secret agent were we shall explain farther on. In the mean time it must be said that very much of the most important diplomatic work in the reigns of Louis XV. and Louis XVI. was conducted by these officers. Two of the most famous of them, De Broglie and Beaumarchais, were employed in negotiations concerning our affairs. At first they were set to perform tasks with which the king, for various reasons, did not think proper to acquaint his own ministers, and which he did not choose should be discussed through the ordinary diplomatic channels. These agents were therefore appointed without the intervention of the ministry to carry out some private personal design of the king, and the ministry often found for the first time that they were at work at a foreign court by the defeat of their own plans and arrangements by an unseen hand. The only advantage which accrued to any one from this crooked way of doing business was the ease with which the acts of these agents or even their appointment could be disavowed when for any reason it should be found convenient to do so. These men corresponded directly with the king, and took their instructions and orders from him only. They were necessarily trusted with great exceptional and discretionary powers. Anxious to succeed, and under no control as to the means they used, they became, as the history of the last century abundantly shows us, the authors of many wild schemes, intended by them usually to please the king or his

mistress rather than to secure the aggrandizement of France by enabling her to subdue by arms her enemies. Most of them proved wholly visionary, and indeed were of such a character that they would never have been put forth in sober earnest by the responsible diplomatic officers of the monarchy. With such a training, and with such habits of action, it is hardly to be wondered at that such a conception as a stadtholderate was evolved from the brain of the Comte de Broglie.

V.

In order to a complete illustration of the character of the Comte de Broglie it seems necessary that I should give a sketch of his career as a public man and as a secret diplomatic agent exclusively devoted to the service of the king. We may in this way discover, among other things, how he became so considerable a personage in France when he offered his services to the American Congress.

Charles François de Broglie was the second son of the second Marshal of France of that famous name, both his father and his grandfather having attained to that high military dignity. The family of De Broglie came from Piedmont, and had been settled in France scarcely a century when the Count de Broglie was born, in 1719. His immediate ancestors had been conspicuous for their devotion to the interests of the French kings. They had shown great military qualities, and had been richly rewarded by the crown for their services, the most important commands and the highest military rank having been conferred upon each of them.

When the count was but thirty years of age he had become a brigadier-general in the army, while his elder brother (who afterwards became Marshal of France) was then a distinguished soldier of even higher rank. They were both men of tried courage, possessing a considerable knowledge of public affairs, as that knowledge was then held by men of the world, full of ambition, obstinate in their opinions, impetuous in action, and rude in speech to a

degree that made them unpopular with the court, and with Madame de Pompadour, who then ruled it, but active, laborious, enterprising, and—in contrast with most of the high officers of the army, who held their positions because they were the favorites of the court favorites—manly, honest, and of proved military skill. The count had already served with much distinction in Italy, and on his return from his campaigns he became the welcome *habitué* of the salon of the Prince de Conti, at that time the most brilliant in Paris, presided over by the celebrated Madame de Boufflers. The Prince de Conti was of the blood royal, the nephew of the grand Condé, and he had sustained with great credit the reputation of that illustrious family during the recent campaigns in Italy. A strong intimacy grew up between the prince and the count; and the prince, dissatisfied with the state of inactivity to which the policy of the court confined him, was glad to find some one in whom he thought he could confide, who would help him to emerge from this condition with credit.

At that time the thoughts of public men throughout Europe, but especially in France, were turned towards the condition of Poland, and many were the speculations as to what would become of that unhappy country on the death of its king, Augustus III. For many reasons Louis XV. felt a special interest in the destiny of that country. He had married the daughter of Stanislaus Leczinski, the dethroned king of Poland, who had been driven out because it was the will of Russia, and because neither French diplomacy nor French money had been powerful enough to keep him there. The political interests of France, in the opinion of Louis XV., were in accord with his feeling of personal resentment, for his pride had been sorely wounded when he found that a family to which he was allied had been so hardly dealt with. Impelled by these motives, he determined that an effort should be made to place a French prince on the throne of Poland upon the death of the reigning king, and, after consulting the Prince de Conti, decided that he should be the French candidate for the succession.

The prince willingly consented, and at his suggestion the Count de Broglie was named French ambassador in Poland. He had two masters,—the king, to whom he was to write secretly and without the knowledge of the minister, and from whom alone he was to take his binding orders, and the foreign minister himself; two sets of instructions, aiming to accomplish different and apparently contradictory results; two objects in view,—the one to secure the election of a French prince, and the other to see that the Diet acted in the election without any outward pressure. It must be confessed that it would be difficult to find a harder task imposed upon a man at the outset of his diplomatic career who was little over thirty years old.

The King of Poland was an elective king, chosen by the Diet of the country. This Diet was composed of all the nobles, and a unanimous vote was required for the adoption of any measure. The special reason for the appointment of a secret agent by Louis XV. at that time was the expectation that the reigning king, Augustus III., who was reported to be apoplectic, would not long survive (strange to say, he did not in fact die until 1762, nearly twenty years after De Broglie was appointed the agent of Louis XV.). It was considered by the king important that a skilful and competent person should be on the ground long before the election took place, urging by means commonly used at such times the claims of France and the choice of the Prince de Conti as the candidate who was personally favored by Louis XV. To accomplish this object by "manipulating" successfully the Diet, probably the most corrupt and turbulent representative body the world has ever seen, required that the man who attempted the task should be not only unscrupulous, but should also possess consummate skill, coolness, and courage. He needed much force of character to carry out his plans, unbounded patience in dealing with a body whose unanimous concurrence with his views it was essential to secure, and, besides, the control of large sums of money to convince those who could be won over in no other way than by its bestowal.

It is not necessary to enlarge upon the difficulties which De Broglie encountered in his efforts to carry out the plans arranged by Louis XV. for the election of the Prince de Conti as king of Poland. He soon found that French influence and money were countermined by the intrigues of the Empress Elizabeth of Russia, who, doubtless with the ulterior view of possessing the country, had a candidate of her own, devoted to her interests, as well as by the astute diplomacy of Frederick the Great, whose well-settled policy it was to group all the smaller German States into such an alliance as would present a barrier to the extension of French power and influence in the east of Europe. Naturally, therefore, there was union between Russia and Prussia against the pretensions of France to gain a footing in Poland. Besides these, there were the hopes of the reigning king, who was naturally desirous of securing the succession in his own family, but who, if he could not succeed in this, was willing to sell his adhesion and assistance to that candidate who would pay the highest price for his support. Add to all this the violent and unscrupulous temper of the members of the Diet itself, whose appetite for bribes became more clamorous and exacting every day, and we can easily conceive what a formidable task had been assigned to the young Comte de Broglie. All his negotiations were conducted not only without the intervention of the ministry, but with an absolute ignorance on its part of the secret instructions which he had received. Hence arose constant embarrassment, and even collision, between himself and the regularly-accredited French ambassadors in Saxony and Austria. So futile, indeed, did the effort to elect a French king of Poland seem to the French ministry that it had abandoned any attempt to bring it about. But to Louis XV. his family and dynastic interests were of such importance that, although he dared not confide the negotiations to his own ministers, he trusted this secret agent, the Comte de Broglie, the future would-be stadtholder of America, and gave him extraordinary powers to commit France to an act which, had it succeeded, would have

changed the whole course of European politics. The result, it is true, was an absolute failure. I have thought it, however, necessary to explain his position, and to speak of his extraordinary zeal and capacity, in order to justify the unlimited confidence which was placed in him at this early period of his life by his sovereign. That confidence was not withdrawn from him by the king, nor was he discouraged by the failure of his first attempt from making further efforts to carry out Louis XV.'s design of establishing a French prince on the throne of Poland. He was tireless in his intrigues to accomplish his object, although his tactics were modified by the outbreak of the Seven Years' War (1756–63), when the condition of European politics was wholly changed, Prussia and England then standing in firm alliance against France, Austria, and Russia. He saw in these alliances new and favorable conditions for securing French influence in Poland; but the crushing defeat which the French army suffered at the hands of Frederick the Great at the battle of Rosbach (1757) extinguished forever all his hopes, and those of his royal patron.

Notwithstanding his ill-success in his attempts to force a French prince upon the throne of Poland, he was soon after employed by the king in a new capacity,—that of French ambassador at Dresden,—and in that position he was soon called upon to exert his peculiar talents in a more satisfactory way than in his attempt to make Poland a French province.[1] Frederick the Great began the Seven Years' War without any previous declaration, by making a sudden irruption into Saxony, calling upon the government to give up to him at once certain State papers, which he supposed contained secrets important for him to know, and demanding

[1] The Seven Years' War (1756–63), it will be remembered, had its origin in a controversy concerning the French and English boundary claims west of the Ohio, and also in questions arising out of the maritime rights of the two nations. Hostilities began here before they were entered upon in Europe. Although Pitt declared that he would conquer France in America, he did not hesitate to ally himself with Frederick the Great to complete the work in Germany.

the enrolment of the Saxon army in his own. The craven-hearted King of Saxony, the same Augustus III. who was also King of Poland, was inclined, in his terror, to accede at once to these arrogant demands, but he was persuaded by the Comte de Broglie, who seems to have been the only man at court at that time who did not lose his head, to concentrate his army in an intrenched camp at Pirna, and from thence to negotiate with the Prussian king. This advice was followed, but the quick movements of Frederick defeated this, as they had already done so many other well-laid schemes of the count. The Austrian army which advanced to the help of the Saxons was defeated by Frederick, and there was then little difficulty in surrounding the Saxons and forcing them to capitulate.

The count seems, indeed, to have been born under an unlucky star, for up to this time his counsel in the affairs of Poland and his efforts to resist Frederick had brought nothing but disaster on those who followed them. Still his boldness and his enterprise were recognized in those portions of Germany whose action had been paralyzed by the rapid successes of Frederick, and where courage and energy were so rare that he was forced to the front as a leader. On taking refuge in Vienna, after the capitulation of Pirna, he found Maria Theresa and her court in a panic of terror lest Frederick, who was then besieging Prague, should, after the fall of that city (which appeared imminent), march upon the imperial capital. De Broglie's advice was sought by the Austrian government with confidence in the emergency. He urged, with the instinct of a true soldier, that the Austrian army of reserve should advance on Prague, and, taking up a strong intrenched position, should force Frederick to attack it. The battle took place at Kolin, and the position of the Austrians was found to be so strong that not only was Frederick obliged to retreat, but shortly afterwards he abandoned the siege of Prague, and thus was Vienna saved. As the number of soldiers who had proved that they could successfully counteract the strategy of Frederick the Great was limited, the military *prestige* and reputation of De Broglie

were much increased by this lucky incident. But the career of this ill-starred diplomatist was closed for the present by the continued successes of Frederick in the field; and he then transferred his ardent enthusiasm for active work for his country to service in its army.

VI.

The trials of the Comte de Broglie in the army were nearly as great, and his failures to achieve something which would gratify his ambition as conspicuous, as they had been in his career as a diplomatist. In both cases he attributed the result to the neglect of the advice which he had given. France, in 1758, was in the most gloomy period of the Seven Years' War. She had just suffered a crushing defeat at Rosbach, and she was never able afterwards to withstand the assaults of Frederick and the Duke of Brunswick, who drove her armies nearer and nearer to the Rhine. Defeat followed upon defeat, and the French people began to murmur loudly as they saw how they had been betrayed by the incompetence of their generals and by the total want of discipline in the army. Soubise, Clermont, Contades, the leaders, owed the positions they held to court favor, or, rather, to that of the Marquise de Pompadour, who was the presiding genius there. Every day proved the incapacity of her favorites and their inability to cope with the German generals. The Duc de Broglie, the elder brother of the count, was generally regarded by the army and the nation at that time as the most competent military leader it possessed. But the duke was not a courtier, and for various reasons he was out of favor with Marshal de Belle Isle, the Minister of War, and with Madame de Pompadour. Notwithstanding, it was felt to be necessary, in order to allay the panic which was beginning to prevail, to employ his services. He was accordingly given command of one wing of the army of which Soubise was chief, and his brother, the count, who was tenderly attached to him, and who, during the long career of both, always agreed with him in his views of public affairs, was made his chief-of-staff. The pecu-

liarity of both brothers was their critical turn. They were essentially *frondeurs*,—grumblers,—always complaining of the character of the officers placed under their orders and the plan of campaigns adopted at Paris, and trying to find excuses for not doing what they could with the forces placed at their disposal. From a letter to his uncle, the Abbé de Broglie, signed by the duke as marshal, but written by the count (which letter was really intended for the king, and was in due time placed before him), we glean not only the opinion of the count upon the condition of the French army at that time, but also his general views concerning the organization of armies, which are of great interest to us as those of the future would-be stadtholder of America. As to the French army he says, "There is absolute ignorance on the part of all the officers, from the sub-lieutenant to the lieutenant-general, of the duties of their position, and of all the details with which they should be familiar. It results from this that none of the officers know how to handle their troops, and the general-in-chief must attend to all the details himself. And yet each officer has a plan of campaign of his own, and blames the general for not adopting it." The Prussians, on the contrary, he says, "require that each of their superior officers should have served in a subaltern grade, and hence each one knows by experience how to perform the duties required of him." Apparently in despair, he exclaims, "The general, no matter who he is, who commands the armies of the king is playing a game of hazard." Speaking of the staff of the army he says, "It should be composed of men chosen wholly by the general-in-chief. They should be absolutely only another *himself;* they should be devoted to him in their friendship and zeal, so that he may be sure of them on all occasions. To him only should be given the power to reward or punish them as they deserve." He insists upon this point, asking that blank commissions should be given to him, which he might award to meritorious officers.

The easy-going king, after reading this letter, seeing clearly that if anything was to be accomplished by the

military genius which the duke undoubtedly possessed, he must let him have his own way, reluctantly gave him the chief command of the army in Germany, and advanced him to the dignity of marshal. At first he gained victories of a good deal of importance, forcing the Duke of Brunswick to withdraw his army into the interior of Germany. But his most dangerous enemies, as his brother, the count, tells us, were in the salons at Versailles. They filled his army with incompetent officers, who were unable to comprehend or to execute his strategy, and misrepresented him upon all occasions. The Marshal de Belle Isle, the Minister of War, completely swayed, as it is said, by the Marquise de Pompadour, constantly thwarted him. On Belle Isle's death he was succeeded by the Duc de Choiseul, who united in himself the functions of minister of war and those of foreign secretary, and he decided, against the earnest protest of the marshal, upon a division of his army, the one part to be commanded by De Broglie and the other by Soubise, each to act independently of the other, thus taking a step the consequences of which were fatal. The catastrophe occurred on the field of Filinghausen, where fifty thousand Germans defeated nearly twice that number of French. So little was the marshal able to convince the king that the loss of this battle was due to the order of the minister dividing the army and not to his incapacity that the marshal and his brother were deprived of their commands and sent in disgrace into exile.

VII.

The active brain of the count was not daunted by the ill success which had attended him as a secret agent and as an avowed diplomatist, nor by the ill treatment of the court favorites of his work as a soldier. Although he was in exile, and regarded himself and his brother the marshal as victims of the ingratitude of the king, he was constantly busy in devising schemes, apparently not so much for bringing himself into notice as for raising France from the terrible humiliation into which she had been sunk by the con-

ditions imposed upon her by England in the treaty of 1763. Hardly had the ratification of that treaty, which brought about peace between the two countries, been exchanged when we find the count, who had been brought up in a school where respect for the faith of treaties had been little taught, advocating one of the wildest of his many wild schemes, namely, a plan for an armed invasion of England by France. This scheme, after he had matured all its details, was presented by the count to the king. He was apparently not deterred by all his former experience from trusting for support to the royal word and promise. He would not confide his plans to any one of the ministers or to any one else who might have been a safe and wise counsellor. He was perfectly convinced that his plan was feasible, and determined that no one should share with him the triumph of a well-assured success. Louis XV., with the selfish indifference and incurable laziness which were such conspicuous traits of his character, listened with complacency to the *projet* of the count, and gave it that sort of negative support which involved no personal trouble on his part. If it succeeded, he would claim the credit, and if it failed, he could disavow his agent, according to his cardinal maxim of conduct, and in no way, he thought, could he be personally compromised. The eager and enthusiastic count conceived this plan for the invasion, and worked out its details with the assistance and co-operation of two men only. These were M. de la Lozière, a man of high distinction in the French army as a military engineer, who was afterwards one of the officers selected by the count to be sent to this country to prepare the way for the stadtholderate, and Le Chevalier d'Eon, secretary of the French embassy in England, a man regarded during his residence in London as a person of doubtful sex, but whose reputation as a villain of the first order, half a base *intrigant* of singular skill and half a madman, was undoubted. The first-named confidant was sent to England by De Broglie, where he passed some time, making a careful detailed survey of the forts and harbors of the country and their defences, with special reference to the practicability of

landing troops, and had gone so far as to determine upon the route of the invading army to London. When De la Lozière and the count had thus made preparations for their scheme, they called upon the king to do his part towards carrying their plans into execution. They found him listless and inactive, unwilling by any act of his to show faith in the great enterprise which they had undertaken, and still more indisposed to order such military measures to be taken as involved the preparation of a formidable army and navy which were, of course, necessary to execute the plans. In short, none of the measures suggested by the count were taken; neither men nor munitions of war were gathered, and the result of this scheme, like that of so many others which the count had recommended to the king, was that when the time came for action the royal word and promise, which, notwithstanding his sad experience, he was always willing to rest upon, proved for him but a *planche pourrie.*

But the ill luck which always attended him when he meddled with political affairs in which he had the support of the king only did not in this instance cease to follow him, even when the unfortunate failure of his plans seemed to end their history. England was not invaded, but the secret, or some suspicion of the secret, leaked out, and the result was a bitterness of contempt and utter distrust on the part of the English government and people for a king who on one day signed a treaty of peace, agreeing to respect the territory of his neighbor, and the next prepared secretly, by means of obscure spies, an invasion of that territory. This was a far deeper and more real cause of humiliation to Frenchmen than any which was due to the provisions of the treaty of 1763.

For this unexpected result of his unlucky plan De Broglie was to a considerable degree responsible. At any rate he was made the scapegoat of D'Eon's villany. He had had, as has been said, but two confidants in this risky business, and one of them (D'Eon) proved a traitor. It had been necessary that some one in England should co-operate with

De la Lozière, and unfortunately D'Eon, who was a friend of the De Broglie family, and besides held the high official position of secretary of the embassy in England, had been intrusted with the secret. When the plot failed D'Eon saw his opportunity of advancement, and threatened to compromise the personal honor of the king by making known the secret which was contained in the papers that had been confided to him, evidently thinking that, the king being at his mercy, unlimited promotion and pay would be given him as the price of his silence. He set up the most extravagant and ridiculous pretensions in answer to the demand of De Broglie and the king himself that he would surrender the papers.

Thus it happened that De Broglie placed the honor of the king and of the nation at the absolute disposal of one of the most famous charlatans of history. His confidence in a man whom he had long known, not only as a friend but as one of the most trustworthy and active officers of the crown, was shamefully betrayed. D'Eon being in London, beyond the jurisdiction of the king, De Broglie, by whose mistaken action he had the means of scandalously defying the royal authority, suffered in his stead.

This perilous secret remained in the possession of D'Eon for more than ten years; and even then, when the power of all France had been defied to coerce him into submission, the papers were given up and his silence purchased only by the promise of a large pension and by permission to return and reside in France. The negotiations of the French government took longer, and were attended with much more difficulty, in this miserable squabble, than those attendant upon any modern treaty of peace between France and England. The government made it one condition with D'Eon that he should appear in France in woman's clothes only, thus being deceived and at last outwitted by a person who claimed to be a woman, but who turned out to be a man! De Broglie was probably the person who suffered the greatest loss by this miserable intrigue. His mistaken trust had cost the French government dear, and the count

was made, as I have said, the scapegoat of all the follies and scandals of D'Eon. He lost all his *prestige* by the unfortunate result of this business, and he suffered from the worst wound that can be inflicted upon a Frenchman, that of ridicule. He was again in disgrace at court, and he and his brother were exiled to the Château de Ruffec.

The brothers were recalled from exile in 1764 by the Duc de Choiseul, apparently with the intention of gaining credit for an act of clemency which had been urged upon him by many of their friends. It was, however, apparent that the death of Madame de Pompadour, their great enemy, was imminent, and it seems to have been understood that as she had been the real author of their disgrace, so her death would be the signal of their return to court favor. Once more at liberty, the count was indefatigable in his efforts to undermine the power of the Duc de Choiseul, and at last he succeeded in driving him into exile.

With the accession of the new king, fortune seemed at last to smile upon the brothers. The marshal was appointed governor of the three bishoprics of Metz, Toûl, and Verdun, and during his absence from his post his place was filled *ad interim* by the count. It was while he held this position, in 1775, that his name became connected with an event the influence of which proved momentous in our American Revolutionary history. The Duke of Gloucester, the brother of George III., while travelling in France was entertained at dinner by the Count and the officers of the garrison of Metz. The conversation turned upon the American insurrection, as it was then called in France, which had just broken out. The Duke, who, with his brother, the Duke of Cumberland, held very different opinions concerning the insurgents from those entertained by George III., did not hesitate to express his sympathy with the Americans, and explained their position. We know how the conversation at that dinner affected one of the guests, the young Marquis de la Fayette; and it would not, perhaps, be going too far to say that it planted in the mind of the Count de Broglie the

germ of that idea which grew in time to a stadtholderate as the best means of aiding us in our struggle.

Such was the life and career of the man who proposed to lead the armies and shape the destiny of our country during the American Revolution. Perhaps the most curious thing about his pretensions is the perfect good faith with which his offer was made. His plan was not a secret conspiracy to usurp a power which would have become so strong that we should have been forced to submit to his dictation, but an open invitation to Congress to employ him to do for us what he was convinced we could not do for ourselves. His views in regard to intervention are interesting to us, for they show how our cause was regarded by an eminent Frenchman who had had a large experience of political life in his own country. He was undoubtedly sincere in supposing that military success here could be achieved only by the employment of troops trained in the European fashion and under the command of a general of high European reputation. It never seems to have occurred to him that while our armies were fighting for independence they sought it only as a means to self-government. To us French influence, such as he desired to secure by the services of a French army, and the exclusive control of our negotiations with foreign powers, would have been as distasteful and as odious as submission to the Parliamentary claim of legislation for the colonies. The cause of this blindness is obvious, and it is to be found more or less in every offer of French assistance made to us prior to the treaty of alliance in 1778. De Broglie and his countrymen agreed to help us not because they desired to aid us to help ourselves, but because they hoped, by their intervention in the quarrel, to avenge France for the wrongs and insults which they alleged she had suffered at the hands of England.

If we examine the record of the life and career of the Comte de Broglie we are forced to conclude that he seems to have been ill prepared for the task which he had undertaken, and that if the Americans had availed themselves of his services they would have looked in vain for any guarantee of that sort

of ability which he claimed to possess. He seems, on the whole, to have been a visionary dreamer, and all his schemes were attended by ill-fortune. His career in Poland, in the army, in his attempted invasion of England, and in efforts to secure the support of the king, were all marked by failure, although he attributed his ill-success in most cases, with some plausibility, to the weakness and treachery of Louis XV. He had passed a large portion of his life in the most degrading and demoralizing service. He had been only a higher kind of spy employed to accomplish the king's personal objects, and he could not complain when it suited the royal purposes to disown him. He had shown no such military ability as his brother the marshal, and it is not difficult to imagine how complete would have been his discomfiture as a general here, where war never has been and never can be waged as in Europe. He was never able to stand alone, and was always complaining that his friends did not support him. His life had been one of low intrigue and of conspiracy, sometimes, perhaps, employed to effect worthy objects. If he ever felt any sympathy with our cause as the cause of human rights and of liberty, he never expressed it in any of his letters or in his other writings. We look in vain, indeed, for any evidence that he knew what we were really fighting for. It is hardly possible to conceive two types of human character more utterly divergent than those of Washington and the Comte de Broglie. They differed as the most extreme types of English and French characters do, the one, filled with a love of country which drove from his heart the slightest taint of selfish purpose, with a judgment which was never so calm and unerring as in the day of disaster, with a constancy in maintaining the right which proved the strength of his moral fibre, with the love of glory perhaps in his heart, but permitting no word save that of duty to pass his lips; the other, a mere professional soldier, ambitiously seeking his personal advancement, or, what was not much better, an opportunity of avenging France through us.

MICHAEL HILLEGAS.

FIRST TREASURER OF THE UNITED STATES.

BY WILLIAM HENRY EGLE, M.D.

Michael Hillegas, son of Michael and Margaret Hillegas, natives of Germany,[1] was born 22d April, 1728 (O. S.), in the city of Philadelphia. He received a good education, and became a prominent merchant and refiner of sugars, and interested in the manufacture of iron, in the State. Early in life he appears to have been active in political affairs. In 1762 he was appointed one of the commissioners to select a site and erect a fort (Mifflin) for the protection of the city against foreign foes, and the year following was elected to the Provincial Assembly, and continued therein until 1775. In 1774 he was on the Committee of Observation for Philadelphia, and in 1775 a member of the Pennsylvania Committee of Safety, serving until the year following. He was chosen by Congress Treasurer of the United States, and also served as Treasurer of the Committee of Safety, holding the former office until 1789. This trust was one of great responsibility, and his faithful services to his country through those long years of Revolutionary struggle command the admiration of every true American. Possessed of ample means, his devotion to his country stamps him as a pure patriot.

On the 2d April, 1781, the General Assembly of Pennsylvania resolved "That Michael Hillegas be requested and empowered to revise, compare, correct, and publish in one volume the resolves of the Committee of the late Province of Pennsylvania with their instructions to their Representa-

[1] Michael Hillegas d. 30 October, 1749, aged fifty-three years, and his widow, Margaret, d. 20th July, 1770, aged sixty-five years.

MICHAEL HILLEGAS.

Bor 1728 - Ob 1804

Treasurer of the United States

From a Miniature in the possession of Mrs. Thomas Dillard.

tives in Assembly held at Philadelphia 15 July 1774; the proceedings of the Convention for the Province of Pennsylvania held at Philadelphia 23 January 1775; the proceedings of the Provincial Conference of Committees held at Carpenters' Hall in the city of Philadelphia 18 June 1776; the Declaration of Independence by the United States, made 4 July 1776; the Minutes of the proceedings of the Convention of the State Pennsylvania, held at Philadelphia 15 July 1776, with the Constitution; the Minutes of the Assemblies of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania to the end of the present year; and the Articles of Confederation of the United States of America." This volume, in folio, was published in 1782. To the Governor of New Hampshire he addressed the following letter on the same subject:

"PHILADELPHIA, August 20, 1781.

"SIR,—The importance of preserving the history of the present revolution, and transmitting authentic records to posterity is evident, and ought doubtless to be attended to, while we have the means of doing it in our power. Sensible of this, the assembly of this state have lately ordered that all the proceedings of the *public bodies* (*committees* and conventions,) from the commencement of the present contest, until the organization of government amongst us be collected and published; whereby the different steps taken to *secure* our *liberty* and establish our *independence* will be clearly seen, and the chain of our history completed. It was with difficulty some of the minutes of Committees could be collected, notwithstanding their transactions were of so recent a date, which I apprehend evinces the necessity of attending to this matter immediately, as the loss of any such papers must occasion a chasm in the history.

"I beg leave therefore to suggest to your Excellency the propriety of each legislature in the Union adopting measures similar to those taken by this state for the above purpose; and should your Excellency view the matter in the same light that I do, I have no doubt of its being communicated,

and warmly recommended to the House of Representatives of your state.

"I have the honor to be your Excellency's most

"Obedient and very humble Servant,

"M. HILLEGAS."

Mr. Hillegas was one of the original subscribers, in 1780, to the Bank of Pennsylvania, organized chiefly for the relief of the government, his subscription being four thousand pounds. In 1792, he was one of the aldermen of the city, and was appointed an associate justice of the Mayor's Court. He was appointed, in conjunction with Tench Francis, by the Supreme Executive Council, 23d April, 1784, commissioner to divide and sell the ground upon which the Barracks in Philadelphia (Northern Liberties) were built. He was also a member of the American Philosophical Society.

Mr. Hillegas died at Philadelphia 29th September, 1804, and his remains rest beside his wife in Christ Church graveyard.

Michael Hillegas married, 10th May, 1753, Henrietta Boude, daughter of Samuel and Deborah Boude, of Philadelphia, who was born 17th January, 173½, and died 25th January, 1792. Their children were *Samuel*, *Michael* (b. 30th January, 1756, d. 2d August, 1757), *William* (d. 11th October, 1759), *Margaret* (b. 21st September, 1760, m. William Nichols), *Deborah* (d. 4th February, 1770), *Henrietta* (m. Joseph Anthony), *Susanna* (d. 27th October, 1769), *Henry* (d. 26th September, 1798), *Deborah* (m. Henry Kuhl), *Mary Ann* (d. 19th February, 1817). Margaret Hillegas Nichols was the grandmother of Mrs. Emma St. Clair Whitney, of Pottsville, Penna.

Here it may be proper to state that in February of 1781 General Washington addressed a letter to Mrs. Esther Reed, Mrs. Henrietta Hillegas, Mrs. Bache, and others, who had collected clothing, etc., for the soldiers, in which he said, "The Army ought not to regret their sacrifices or sufferings, when they meet with so flattering a reward as the sympathy of your sex, nor can they fear that their interests will be

neglected, while espoused by advocates as powerful as they are amiable."[1] The only personal notice of Mr. Hillegas we are aware of will be found in the Diary of John Adams. In September of 1775, Congress and the Assembly of Pennsylvania inspected the row galleys which had been built for the protection of the Delaware. With Mr. Adams on the "Bull Dog" was Mr. Hillegas: "Hillegas is one of our Continental Treasurers; is a great musician, talks perpetually of the forte and piano, of Handel, and songs and tunes. He plays upon the fiddle."

Scattered through the Provincial Records and Pennsylvania Archives are numerous references to this man of mark in the dark days of the Revolutionary War.

[1] Original letter, Collection Hist. Soc. Penna.

THE MOUNT VERNON CONVENTION.

BY MISS KATE MASON ROWLAND.

The much proverbially lies in the little, and from insignificant sources the wide streams flow; yet do men never gather grapes of thorns or figs of thistles, nor do they look for the oak to come from another nut than the acorn, or would they expect—to speak rhetorically—rivers of cognac to broaden out from rivulets of wine. The law of evolution, however, presents often surprising sequences. From the first rude link in a chain one may never surmise what iron or golden division should remotely follow. From a trade compact between two States to a political union between thirteen there are wide spaces of no needful logical connection, though the first be practically the latter's sponsor and progenitor.

Virginia and Maryland, who shared between them the control of the Chesapeake Bay, and who found in the Potomac River at once a dividing-line and a much-prized highway of communication, had long felt the need of concerted commercial regulations, and it was to supply this want that their commissioners met at Mount Vernon in 1785. As early as 1774, when the colonies were beginning to take matters into their own hands, when county committees were buying powder and ball in view of possible battle, the colonial executives being committed to other counsels, and from Massachusetts to Georgia the aggression of the Boston Port Bill was firing patriotic hearts. Virginia made her first tentative effort towards a scheme for improving the navigation of the Potomac. It was the year of the first Continental Congress, the beginning of the "old Union," consummated later in the Articles of Confederation. Two years were to elapse before Virginia should take the lead in asserting independence. The world-famous Declaration, whose proto-

type was the Virginia Bill of Rights, soon followed, through which the colonies in a body maintained the same proud thesis to be made good in a seven years' war. An unobserved ripple in the great stream of events going forward was this of the Potomac River legislation. Washington, who was in the Virginia Assembly in 1774, refers to it in 1784, in a letter to Jefferson. The great scheme of connecting the eastern waters of Virginia with the Ohio and other rivers so as to obtain for this commonweath the trade of the western country was then occupying the minds of some of Virginia's foremost statesmen, and Washington recalled the earlier move made in this direction. "More than ten years ago," he says, "I was struck with the importance of it, and, despairing of any aid from the public, I became a principal mover of a bill to empower a number of subscribers to undertake at their own expense, on conditions which were expressed, the extension of the navigation [of the Potomac] from tide-water to Mill's Creek, about one hundred and fifty miles. . . . To get this business in motion, I was obliged even upon that ground to comprehend James River in order to remove the jealousies, which arose from the attempt to extend the navigation of the Potomac. The plan, however, was in a tolerably good train when I set out for Cambridge in 1775, and would have been in an excellent way, had it not been for the difficulties which were met with in the Maryland Assembly from the opposition which was given (according to report) by the Baltimore merchants, who were alarmed, and perhaps not without cause, at the consequence of water transportation to Georgetown of the produce which usually came to their market by land. The local interest of that place, joined to the short-sighted politics or contracted views of another part of that Assembly gave Mr. Thomas Johnson, who was a warm promoter of the scheme on the north side of the Potomac, a great deal of trouble. In this situation I left matters when I took command of the army. The war afterwards called men's attention to different objects, and all the money they could or would raise was applied to other purposes." Thomas Johnson was a con-

spicuous patriot and statesman of the Revolution, and the first republican governor of Maryland. With him were associated some twenty or more prominent Marylanders in the promotion of this plan. Among the equal number of Virginians who became subscribers to the proposed company were the brothers George and Thomson Mason, both well known later in Virginia annals, and the former to become eminently conspicuous in the new era then opening. George Mason was at this time living quietly at his beautiful country-seat, "Gunston Hall," a few miles below "Mount Vernon." Though he had been a member of the Assembly he was not in the House at this time. He was soon to be called again into political life, and to earn, as the author of the Virginia Constitution and Bill of Rights, a lofty place in the Revolutionary pantheon.

In the mean while Washington, his intimate friend from early manhood, was well aware of his talents as a writer, and he turned to him now, as he was to do later, and indeed had done previously when more important matters were going forward, to engage his services in the preparation of the bill he wished to bring before the House. And in February, 1775, George Mason writes Washington, referring to a communication the latter had received from Thomas Johnson: "I am happy in finding that I had fallen into many of Mr. Johnston's sentiments, though I was a stranger to them till I received your letter. . . . I wish it was in my power to spend a day with him on the subject. Some of his remarks are not so intelligible to me as they would be if I had all the queries which he seems to answer. What he mentions of some kind of jealousy least the Virginians should have some advantage and that there should be some equality between the Maryland and Virginia subscriptions I can have no idea of. What matter is it whether the majority of the subscribers are Marylanders or Virginians, if their property is put upon an equal footing and the work is of general advantage to both provinces? Nor can I think his notion of proportioning the tolls to the average profits can well be reduced to practice. A sufficient sum

can't be raised by those only who are locally interested; men who are not will not advance their money upon so great a risk, but with views of great and increasing profit, not to depend upon future alterations. The tolls to be sure must be moderate, such as the commodities will bear, with advantage to the makers. It is probable for some years they will yield very little profit to the undertakers, perhaps none; they must run the risk of this, as well as of the utter failure of the undertaking, and surely, if they succeed, they have a just right to the increased profits, though in process of time they may become very great. If I am not misinformed, this is the principle upon which everything of this nature has been successfully executed in other countries." But the project came to a stand-still for want of Maryland's co-operation; and in the *Virginia Gazette* for October, 1775, is a notice to this effect from John Ballendine, who had undertaken the work: "The necessity," he says, "of a Maryland Act of Assembly co-operating with one passed in Virginia, and which I have not yet been able to obtain, has obliged me to decline it for the present."

The jurisdiction of the Potomac was a question intimately connected with this work of extending its navigation. Virginia, the year following, in her republican constitution settled the long-standing territorial controversy between herself and Maryland by acknowledging the latter's claims through her charter, but she reserved the free navigation and use of the rivers Potomac and Pocomoke. In 1778, however, an arrangement was made under this head. But a complete understanding had not been attained, and there were infractions of the inter-state law complained of from time to time up to 1784, when Virginia again took the matter in hand. The Assembly at its June session passed the following resolution:

"Whereas great inconveniences are found to result from the want of some concerted regulations between this State and the State of Maryland touching the jurisdiction and navigation of the river Potomac,—

"*Resolved*, That George Mason, Edmund Randolph,

James Madison, Jr., and Alexander Henderson, Esq'rs, be appointed commissioners, and that they or any three of them do meet such commissioners as may be appointed on the part of Maryland, and in concert with them frame such liberal and equitable regulations concerning the said river as may be mutually advantageous to the two States."

Madison, who was in the Assembly, made the motion to appoint commissioners, and he was named one of them. Edmund Randolph, a young and gifted lawyer, was then the attorney of Virginia. George Mason, after five years of arduous and important labors in the Assembly, was again in retirement. Ill health and an aversion to heats and cabals of political life combined to keep him out of the public arena. His friends, however, had found some employment for him. And in fact his interest in all important questions before the country and his influence in forwarding such as he approved made him at all times a recognized power in the community, as was seen in the Religious Assessment controversy of this same year.

Washington now reopened the subject of the river navigation. He wrote an important letter to Governor Harrison, which the latter laid before the Assembly. A memorial from citizens of Virginia and Maryland followed, asking for a grant of incorporation, and a bill for the purpose was determined upon. But negotiations with Maryland were necessary to secure uniformity of action, and General Washington was appointed by the Virginia Assembly to go to Annapolis for the purpose. Two other commissioners were named with him, but they did not act. The subject was speedily arranged, and the bills passed which brought into being the Potomac and James River Companies, Washington being complimented with a gift of shares in both corporations. This was at the fall session of 1784, and at the same time, in view of the work just undertaken by Washington, new powers were delegated to the commissioners appointed in June, widening their scope of action. They were now instructed to unite with the Maryland commissioners in representing to the State of

Pennsylvania that they had in contemplation the work of clearing and extending the navigation of the Potomac; that they wished to open a communication with the waters of the Ohio, and that these States desired a free use of the Ohio and its branches as far as the latter lay within the State of Pennsylvania. There was another State to be brought into the contemplated compact. Maryland, however, had instructed her commissioners to settle with Virginia not only the jurisdiction of the Potomac, but that also of the river Pocomoke and the Chesapeake Bay, and they came to Alexandria the following March to meet the Virginia commission. The Maryland gentlemen appointed were Thomas Johnson, Thomas Stone, Samuel Chase, and Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer. Thomas Johnson, for some reason, did not attend. The other three were well-known Maryland statesmen. Jenifer was at this time Intendant of the Revenue, Chase was in the House, and Stone in the Senate of the Maryland Assembly. The latter body had suggested the time and place of meeting. But, oddly enough, the Virginia commissioners, through an inadvertence on the part of the Virginia officials, were not informed on these important points, and Mason and Henderson were not even made aware of their appointment on the commission. Yet it so turned out that they alone represented Virginia in the meeting that took place. George Mason received his first information on the subject from two of the Marylanders, who wrote proposing to visit him on their way to Alexandria, and he notified his neighbor, Mr. Henderson. Mason took the responsibility on himself of going through with the work in the absence of Madison and Randolph. In a letter to Madison he explains the circumstances that seemed to justify this step, while he communicates to his colleague the result of the commission. Washington had invited the commissioners to adjourn from Alexandria to "Mount Vernon," and there the compact was signed on the 28th of March.

"We thought ourselves unfortunate," wrote Mason, "in being deprived of yours and my friend the Attorney's as-

sistance in this important business; and nothing but absolute necessity should have induced me to enter upon it without you. But the Maryland gentlemen would have been much disgusted with a disappointment, after attending at such a distance in very bad weather.

"We waited some days, expecting your arrival at Alexandria, when I received a letter from the attorney upon other business, without mentioning a word of the meeting or of the Assembly's appointment. This convinced me that there must have been some blunder or neglect in some of the public offices in not giving the proper notification to the Virginia commissioners. The Maryland gentlemen declared that nothing had been omitted on their part; that they had written an official letter to the Virginia commissioners (addressed by their governor to the commissioners) proposing the time and place, if agreeable to them, and if not, desiring they would name some other; that having received no answer, they took it for granted that the time and place was accepted, and attended accordingly.

"So great has been the neglect in some of our public departments that neither Mr. Henderson or myself had been furnished with copies of the Assembly's resolutions. And I should not have known that I was one of the persons appointed, had I not by mere accident, two or three days before the meeting, been informed of it by two of the Maryland commissioners writing to me that they should endeavor to take my house in their way, and go with me to Alexandria. His Excellency General Washington happened to have a copy of the Assembly's resolutions respecting the application to be made to the government of Pennsylvania, which he very obligingly gave me, by which *any two* or more of the commissioners were empowered to proceed. And it was natural for us to conclude that these last resolutions had pursued the style of the former respecting the jurisdiction of the two States; as well as that the subject had been taken up upon the same principles as in the year 1778, when commissioners were directed to settle the jurisdiction of the Chesapeake Bay and the rivers Potomac and Poko-

moke; in which sentiments Mr. Henderson, from what he was able to recollect of the resolutions concurred.

"Thus disagreeably circumstanced, only two of the Virginia commissioners present, and without any copy of the resolves upon the principal subject, we thought it better to proceed than to disappoint the Maryland commissioners; who appeared to have brought with them the most amicable dispositions, and expressed the greatest desire of forming such a fair and liberal compact, as might prove a lasting cement of friendship between the two States; which we were convinced, it is their mutual interest to cultivate. We therefore upon the particular invitation of the General adjourned to 'Mount Vernon' and finished the business there. Some time after, Mr. Henderson wrote to Mr. Beckley (clerk of the House of Delegates) for a copy of the resolves; upon receiving which we were surprised to find no mention made of *Chesapeake or Pokomoke River*, that our powers were confined to *Potomac River*, and to not less than *three* of the commissioners. I am still inclined to think that the omission of Chesapeake Bay and Pokomoke River was owing to a mistake or inadvertence, in not attending to the resolves of 1778; and, if so, it was perhaps lucky that we had not been furnished with a copy of the resolves: for the Maryland commissioners had an express instruction from their Assembly to consider the relinquishment, on the part of Virginia, of any claim of laying tolls, &c., on vessels passing through the capes of Chesapeake as a *sine qua non;* and if it was refused immediately to break off all further conference with the Virginia commissioners.

"This blundering business, however, will give me the trouble and expence of a journey to Richmond, next session, to apologize for, and explain our conduct; where, if the substance of the compact is approved by the Assembly, I hope forms will be dispensed with, especially as the breach of them has been the fault of some of their own officers, not ours; and as I am conscious of our having been influenced by no other motives than the desire of promoting the public good."

George Mason, with his strong will and clear head, was just the man for an emergency, and so out of the "blundering business" the best results followed. Without instructions he boldly took the initiative, and it proved to have been a happy accident that forced the alternative upon him. With his letter Mason transmitted to Madison copies of the communications of the commission to the Virginia Assembly and the president of the Pennsylvania Council. And he adds a memorandum in reference to an error in one of the articles of compact.

"MOUNT VERNON, March 28, 1785.

"SIR

"We have the honor to transmit to the General Assembly the result of the deliberations of the Commissioners of Virginia and Maryland, appointed to settle the navigation and jurisdiction of that part of the Chespeake Bay within the limits of Virginia, and of the rivers Potomac and Pokomoke.

"We flatter ourselves that, in the execution of this important trust, the commissioners have consulted the true interest of both governments, in a compact of such just and mutual principles, that, executed with good faith, will perpetuate harmony, friendship, and good offices between the two States, so essential to the prosperity and happiness of their people. In the conference on the subject of our appointment, several matters occurred to the commissioners, which they conceived very important to the commerce of the two States; and which, with all deference, we take the liberty to communicate.

"The commissioners were of opinion, these States ought to have leave from the United States in Congress assembled, to form a compact for the purpose of affording in due time, and in just proportions between the two States, naval protection to such part of Chespeake Bay and Potomac River, which may at any time hereafter be left unprovided for by Congress. The commissioners did not consider themselves authorized to make any compact on this subject, and submit the propriety of the two governments making a joint application to Congress, for their consent to enter into compact,

for the purpose aforesaid; such compact when made to be laid before Congress for their approbation; and to continue until mutually dissolved by these States, or Congress shall declare that such compact shall no longer exist.

"It also appeared to the commissioners that foreign gold and silver coin, received in the two States, as the current money thereof, should pass at the same value, according to its fineness and weight; and if the species of coin could be regulated at the same nominal value, it would be of great convenience to the commerce and dealings between the citizens of the two States. The damages on foreign bills of exchange protested are very different in the two States, and it is obvious that they ought to be the same, and should be considered in all cases, and to all purposes, as of equal rank with debts upon contract in writing, signed by the party, and it was suggested that fifteen pct. should be allowed, without regard to the time of negotiation, and legal interest on the principal from the time of protest. It was also conceived by the commissioners, that drafts by the merchants of either State, upon those of the other, in the nature of inland bills of exchange, should be subject by law, to official protest; by a notary public, and that the damages, for non-payment, should be the same in both States; and it was thought, that eight pct. should be allowed upon protest, and legal interest upon the principal, from the time of protest.

"It appeared to the commissioners to be essential to the commerce and revenue of the two governments, that duties on imports or exports (if laid) should be the same in both States.

"If these subjects should be deemed worthy notice, it may be proper for the two legislatures, at their annual meeting in the autumn to appoint commissioners to meet, and communicate the regulations of commerce and duties proposed by each State, and to confer on such subjects as may concern the commercial interests of both States. It was suggested that the number of the said commissioners should be equal, and not less than three, nor more than five, from

each State; and that they should annually meet in the third week in September, at such place as they should appoint.

"We have the honor to be with the greatest respect Sir, your most obedient Servants

"G. MASON
"ALEXANDER HENDERSON."

"P.S.—The Commissioners also beg leave to transmit to the General Assembly, the inclosed copy of their joint application to the State of Pennsylvania respecting the communication between Potomac River and the Western waters.

"Honorable the Speaker of the House of Delegates of Virginia.

"*Memorandum.* The concluding clause of the seventh article of the compact is not so cleerly expressed as it ought to be, and is capable of a construction which was not intended; and though it would be a strained and unnatural one, it had better be removed. The words are 'provided &c., and that the citizens of neither State shall have a right to fish with nets or seins upon the shores of the other.' This may be construed to restrain the citizens of either State, having lands upon the river in the other, from fishing with nets or seins upon their own shores; which would be unreasonable and unjust; although in its present form, it seems to be the grammatical construction. The addition of two or three words will set it right—thus: 'And that the citizens of neither State shall have a right to fish with nets or seins upon the shores *of the citizens* of the other.' I never observed this circumstance, til very lately, or I am sure I could easily have had it altered by the Maryland commissioners, at any time before the meeting of their Assembly. The fisheries upon Potomac River are becoming a very important object, and therefore I could wish the above clause in the compact properly amended. If the amendment goes no farther than I have mentioned it will occasion no objection from Maryland, and I wish the article to be no otherwise altered, for this was the most difficult business we had

to settle with the Maryland commissioners. The idea of the right of fishing on both shores of Potomac River is one the Marylanders are not fond of parting with; and I trust it will be found we have obtained everything for Virginia, with respect to Potomac River, which she can desire. The exceptionable part of the article before mentioned was really a mistake. Not having time now to write to my friend the Attorney upon this subject Mr Madison will be pleased to mention it to him.

"And I shall be particularly obliged to Mr Madison to inform me what is done with respect to the Northern Neck, on the subjects of the records in the late proprietor's office, entering, or resurveying lands, quit-rents, &c.

"G. M."

"VIRGINIA, MOUNT VERNON, March 28, 1785.

"SIR

"In pursuance of directions from the legislatures of Virginia and Maryland, respectively to us given, we beg leave to represent to the State of Pennsylvania that it is in contemplation of the said two States to promote the clearing, and extending the navigation of Potomac, from tide water, upwards, as far as the same may be found practicable, to open a convenient road from the head of such navigation, to the waters running into the Ohio, and to render these waters navigable, as far as may be necessary and proper. That the said works will require great expence, which may not be repaid, unless a free use be secured to the said States, and their citizens, of the water of the Ohio, and its branches, as far as the same lie within the limits of Pennsylvania; that as essential advantages will accrue from such works to a considerable portion of the said State, it is thought reasonable that the legislature thereof should by some previous act engage, that for the encouragement of the said works, all articles of produce or merchandise, which may be conveyed to or from either of the said two States, through either of the said rivers, within the limits of Pennsylvania, to or from any place without the said limits, shall pass throughout free from all duties or tolls whatsoever, other than such tolls as

may be established and be necessary for reimbursing expences incurred by the State, or its citizens, in clearing, or for defraying the expence of preserving the navigation of the said rivers. And that no articles imported into Pennsylvania through the channel or channels, or any part thereof to be opened as aforesaid, and rended or used within the said State, shall be subject to any duties on imports, other than such articles would be subject to, if imported into the said State through any other channel whatsoever.

"We request Sir, that you will take the earliest opportunity of laying this representation, on behalf of the two States, before the legislature of Pennsylvania; and that you will communicate the result to the executives of Virginia and Maryland.

"By acts of the legislatures of Virginia and Maryland for opening the navigation of the river Potomac above tidewater, the citizens of the United States have the same right of trading through the said water, which the citizens of Maryland and Virginia enjoy; and we have no doubt but the legislature of your State will agreeably to this principle, give every encouragement to measures which have for their object, the interest and convenience of their citizens, and those of the other States in the Union.

"We have the honor to be with the greatest respect, Sir, your most obedient servants,

"G. Mason,
Alexander Henderson, } Commissioners for the Commonwealth of Virginia.

"Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer,
T. Stone,
Samuel Chase, } Commissioners for the State of Maryland.

"Honorable the President of the Executive Council of the Commonwealth of Penna."

Washington doubtless took a keen interest in the negotiations concluded at "Mount Vernon," and in the survey

of the whole subject of trade and commerce which the occasion called forth. His private journal at this time, however, as usual is brief and reticent in its entries, and we can gather nothing from them of the table-talk which must have made these bleak March days at "Mount Vernon" in 1785 of exceptional interest. On Thursday, the 24th, Washington records, he sent his carriage "to Alexandria for Col. Mason, according to appointment, who came in about dusk." On the following day "Major Jenifer, Mr. Stone, Mr. Chase, and Mr. Alexander Henderson arrived." Saturday it snowed, as the diary notes, and the wind was raw and chilly. Colonel Mason's eldest son dined that day at "Mount Vernon," as did Dr. Gustavus Brown. Mr. Walter Stone came to dinner Sunday. Monday Mr. Henderson returned from Colchester, where he had spent the previous day, "to the meeting of the commissioners at ten o'clock, and Mr. Chase went away after dinner. Tuesday Maj. Jenifer, Mr. Stone and Mr. Henderson went away before breakfast and Col. Mason (in my carriage) after it, by the return of which he sent me some young shoots of the Persian jessamine and Guelder rose." So the thoughts of Washington and Mason turned aside from the important topics that had so lately occupied them to the simple, rural pleasures they both loved.

The compact was confirmed in due time, settling points as to tolls and fisheries, light-houses, buoys, and kindred matters.

But the concluding clause of the seventh article was not altered in accordance with George Mason's careful suggestion, and is found in the statute-books in the form first given it. Both States were satisfied with the general result, and their commercial union was fully cemented. And in the Virginia Convention of 1788, when Edmund Randolph, in his argument for the acceptance of the Constitution without previous amendments, cited the danger that threatened Virginia, supposing her out of the confederation, from the proximity of Maryland and Pennsylvania, George Mason replied for the former, "Maryland and Potomac have been

mentioned, and I have had some little means of being acquainted with that subject, having been one of the commissioners who made the compact with Maryland. There is no cause of fear on that ground. Maryland," says the gentleman, "has a right to the navigation of the Potomac. This is a right which she never exercised. Every ship which comes within the State of Maryland, except some small boats, must come within our country. Maryland was very glad to get what she got by this compact, for she considered it as next to getting it without any compensation on her part. She considered it at least as next to a *quid pro quo.*"

The "Mount Vernon" commission, after completing the task assigned it had, it has been seen, discussed other needed measures, and recommended them to the action of the two Assemblies. Maryland, in considering this report, with its recommendation that commissioners be appointed annually to confer on the commercial regulations proposed by each State, passed a resolution inviting Pennsylvania and Delaware to join in these annual conventions. Virginia was prepared to go still further. Madison, though he had not been present at Mount Vernon, was fully in sympathy with the ideas of the commissioners, and he was ready to extend the commercial league until it embraced the whole Union. He wrote to Washington in December, 1785: "It seems naturally to grow out of the proposed appointment of commissioners for Virginia and Maryland, concerted at Mount Vernon, for keeping up harmony in the commercial regulations of the two States. Maryland has ratified the report, but has invited into the plan Delaware and Pennsylvania, who will naturally pay the same compliment to their neighbors." Madison penned the resolution of the Assembly appointing commissioners to meet such as should be appointed by the other States "to take into consideration the trade of the United States," and "to consider how far a uniform system in their commercial regulations may be necessary to their common interest and permanent harmony." The convention was to meet at Annapolis, and among the eight delegates appointed from Virginia were Randolph,

Madison, and Mason. Commissioners from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Virginia met on the 11th of September, 1786, at the appointed place. From Virginia went Madison, Randolph, and St. George Tucker. George Mason did not attend. Here Hamilton, assisted by Madison and Randolph, drew up an address recommending that the States send commissioners to Philadelphia, "to take into consideration the condition of the United States, and to devise such further provisions as shall appear to them necessary to render the constitution of the Federal government adequate to the exigencies of the Union." As a trade convention the conference had failed, but it brought to the surface the thought that all men were then revolving. From this resulted the political charter of 1787.

LETTER OF GENERAL NATHANIEL GREENE.

ORIGINAL IN COLLECTION OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

HEAD QUARTERS
HIGH HILLS OF SANTEE.
OCTOBER 24th 1781

SIR.

Inclosed I send you a return of your line serving with this Army, & small as their number are they are of great importance to the quarter, as our whole collective strength don't exceed One thousand men fit for duty. In this State we cannot look forward to the short period of their service, in our remote situation, without the most sensible pain. Our conflict has been too unequal, & I cannot think of prosecuting the War, upon such unequal ground nor would it be in my power, however, strong my inclination to support the spirits of the Officers and soldiers under such severe tryals as they have lately gone through. I hope therefore you will reinforce me timely, or I cannot be answerable for consequences. I congratulate you on our prospects in Virginia, but as the events of War are uncertain the most seasonable preparation should be made, to guard against misfortunes and improve advantages as fortune may decide. For Heavens sake don't forget us, but remember your whole line leaves us in December, & the enemy ready to take advantage of our weak State; for tho' we have driven them down into the lower Country, they have more than double our numbers.

With sentiments of esteem and regard I have the honor to be Sir

Your most Obed't
Humble Servant

His Excellency
GOVERNOR NELSON.

NATH. GREENE.

THE HERMITS OF THE WISSAHICKON.

BY PROFESSOR OSWALD SEIDENSTICKER.

The following letter translated from the German describing the passage from London to Pennsylvania, February to June, 1694, and giving first impressions of the new colony, derives much interest from the fact that it was written by a fellow-passenger of John Kelpius, known as the Hermit of the Wissahickon.[1] The ascetic dreamers, whose protracted and adventurous trip is here related, settled, after their arrival in 1694, on the ridge near the Wissahickon, where they indulged in their religious notions, free of the intolerance that drove them from their native land.

The leader of these peculiar people had originally been the Rev. John Jacob Zimmermann, who is highly spoken of as a man versed in mathematics and astronomy, as well as in theology. He had been a minister at Bietigheim, in Würtemberg, but lost his place on account of his leaning towards the mysticism and the theosophy of Jacob Boehme. He appears to have found friends in Hamburg, among others, the pietistic preacher J. H. Horbius, a brother-in-law of the famous Jacob Spener. But the free avowal of his religious convictions, he feared, would only entangle him with the ruling powers, and so he conceived the idea, in company with others who were in the same predicament, to emigrate to Pennsylvania, where dissent from the doctrines of a church was not punished as a felony. Before embarking on their journey, Zimmermann and his friend, Henry Bernhard Köster, informed a benevolent Quaker in Holland of their intention, and asked for

[1] "Copy of a Report from the New World, being an Account of the dangerous Voyage and happy Arrival of some Christian Fellow-travelers, who undertook their Pilgrimage to the end of spreading the Belief in Jesus Christ. | Job *xii* 8. | Printed in the year 1695."

aid. It is stated by G. Croese, in his "History of the Quakers" (though not elsewhere confirmed), that this appeal was answered by a gift of twenty-four hundred acres of land, subject only to the usual quitrent, and a sum of money (one hundred and thirty pounds sterling) sufficient to bring the little band of Pietists to America. On the eve of embarkation Zimmermann died at Rotterdam, in 1693. The rest of the company, including Zimmermann's wife and children, went to London, where they stayed till February, 1694.

The most prominent among them were John Kelpius, of Denndorf, in Transylvania; Henry Bernhard Köster, of Blumenberg; Daniel Falkner, of Saxony; John Selig, of Lemgo; Ludwig Bidermann, of Anhalt; probably, also, Peter Schäffer, of Finland; altogether about forty. They belonged to the "awakened Christians," who had a tinge of mysticism, probably also of millennialism, and looked down upon the church as a spiritual Babylon. John Kelpius had studied divinity at Altorf, then the seat of a university, where he became the pupil and friend of Professor John Jacob Fabricius. In 1689 he obtained the master's degree, and on this occasion wrote a Latin essay on natural theology, followed by several others. In London he became acquainted with Jane Leade, the founder of the Philadelphic Society, a league of Christians who insisted on depth and inwardness, and had affiliations in Germany. With the secretary of that society, Henry John Deichmann, in London, he kept up a correspondence after his arrival in Pennsylvania.

Another of the party, H. B. Köster, had studied law at Frankfort on the Oder, at the same time paying great attention to Oriental languages. In Pennsylvania he occasionally preached in German and in English. During the Keithian controversy he was a strong and even violent partisan of George Keith, and as such forced a hearing at the notable Yearly Meeting in Burlington, 1695. He gave his own account of that meeting in a small pamphlet with the title, "History of the Protestation done in the Publick Yearly Meeting of Quakers at Burlington in the year 1695. New York, 1695." After a short stay in Virginia he returned, in

1700, to Europe, and died 1749. Adelung, from whose biography of Köster ("History of Human Folly," Vol. VII.) these facts are taken, further states that an Englishman, "Thomas Fairmond" (evidently Thomas Fairman is meant), gave to Köster and his five learned companions a tract of woodland to be cleared and tilled by them; that they built upon it a little log house, and supported themselves mainly by raising Indian corn.

Daniel Falkner is the same person who afterwards acquired the property of the Frankfort Company, called the Manatawny tract, at Pottstown, and his name still survives in the designation of Falkner's Swamp.

The question who wrote this "Report from the New World"? a translation of which follows on the succeeding pages, cannot be definitely answered. It is not likely that Kelpius was the author. A little manuscript volume, the property of Mr. Charles J. Wister, of Germantown, contains, beside other things in Kelpius's own handwriting, his Latin diary of the very same journey which this report describes. On comparing the two accounts one cannot resist the impression that Kelpius was of a higher grade of intellect than the writer of the report. He, moreover, attaches importance to incidents which the other leaves unnoticed, though, of course, the two descriptions, on the whole, agree in all matters of fact. Köster cannot well have been the author, on account of the allusion made to him in the letter. Perhaps Falkner is the man we look for. There is a remark in the report that may, at least, give some color to this supposition. It is this: "We do not know on what particulars you desire information, therefore draft questions and send them, you shall not remain without good and full answers." Now Falkner, in his *Curieuse Nachricht von Pennsylvania*, published at Frankfort and Leipzig, in 1702, actually followed this plan. The book consists of questions propounded by his friends, followed by his answers. But, of course, this is no conclusive proof, and we must let the matter rest here.

The Jacob Isaac mentioned towards the close of the report is Jacob Isaacs van Bebber, repeatedly noticed by

Mr. S. W. Pennypacker, in his paper on the "Settlement of Germantown," PENNA. MAG., Vol. IV. pp. 1–41.

SALUTEM EX ANTIPODIBUS!

Dearest friends and brethren, especially my fellow in the Lord and much beloved etc.

I shall be glad to learn that you have received all my letters, including my last from London, which contained a full account of what has occurred, since we left Germany[1] for England, and what, during our six months' stay in London, was done and transacted among ourselves and with others. I shall now, in accordance with my promise, relate to you further, how we have happily come from England to America and what is the state of things here. Our departure for London was fixed on the 24th of February 1694 in a large ship, the Sarah Maria Hopewell, or, as we called her among ourselves, Faith Love Hope. For so we have been taught by God. By Faith we got for our journey the means that were not in sight. By Smyrnean Love (in Hebrew *mar*, bitter, whence Maria) which is not obtained without toil and trouble, but remains faithful unto death, we were snatched from many portals of death. And, at last, through Hope we have been safely landed. We were taken in a sloop on the Thames a distance of 5 German miles to Gravesend, there to embark in our ship and then sailed down the Thames to the sea or Channel. There were of us forty passengers and thirty mariners. The ship was built for service in war and carried 14 large cannons. We saw land on both sides, on the left France, on the right the coast of England to which we kept close. Our pilot had not much experience, as we soon found out. For on the

[1] In Kelpius's diary the following persons are mentioned as the more prominent of the party: Henry Bernhard Köster, Daniel Falkner, Daniel Lütke, John Selig, Ludwig Bidermann. In the course of narrative a George G. and Henry Lorenz are incidentally referred to. From an allusion in Frederick Breckling's "Zeugnüsse der Wahrheit," it would appear that also Peter Schäffer, a Finlander, was a fellow-passenger. He is noticed by Acrelius ("New Sweden," p. 315), and also mentioned in Kelpius's letters.

16th of February it blew a gale and though we had to steer between cliffs and sand banks, the pilot had nearly all sail set. The ship went like a bird; most of us became sea sick. Short time before the dinner hour we cast anchor, using the largest we had, as thick as a boy of nine years around the waist. As the gale abated and the ship drifted against the anchor, it broke, knocking a hole in the ship, which, however, caused no leak. We thus continued our journey, when, towards evening, wind, snow and storm began to rage more furiously and, at nightfall, our ship was unexpectedly driven by wind and waves against a hard sand bank. There was a crash as if every thing in the ship was turning topsy turvy and as two more thumps followed, the sailors called down: Commend your souls to the Lord; we shall go down. Then three guns were fired as a signal to ships in the vicinity, but no mortal soul came to render assistance. All threw themselves upon their knees and prayed about an hour expecting the ship to sink. Here Faith, which conquers the world and its elements, proved so strong and heroic in some of the passengers, that they forgot the danger, went to the captain and told him to be of good cheer,[1] the danger was not meant for destruction, but for testing the belief and the love of many. This proved to be true. For when the prayers strove most earnestly against wind and waves, the most powerful waves came, as it were, to the support of the prayers and, at the behest of the Creator, whom they obeyed, lifted the ship and carried it over the bank into a safe depth, contrary to all experience upon sea and to the surprise of the crew. After general thanksgiving on board we thereupon continued our journey through the Channel[2] and met, on the 20th of February, Prince Lewis

[1] It was Kelpius who, upon the third inward prompting, told the captain that the Lord had promised deliverance, that more dangers were impending, but divine Providence would grant a safe arrival.

[2] On the 18th of February died the infant son of Henry Lorenz, and was buried in the sea. On the same day the ship was boarded by royal recruiting officers, who claimed three Swedish sailors. They would have carried off their prey had not the good Lord, invoked by Köster, appeased the hearts of the soldiers. (Kelpius.)

of Baden or rather were overtaken by him when returning from London to Holland and Germany. For his safety he had a convoy of 20 large men-of-war. While yet in London we had given in his charge, through a rich Jewish resident a large package of letters which he kindly received and promised to take over. We soon parted company, he crossing the Channel, we continuing our course lengthwise. On the 21 of February we reached Deal or the Downs, an English port. Here we had to stop over two weeks waiting for the arrival of a good convoy, which was to be sent after us from London.[1] During that time France could always be seen from our ship, as the distance across the Channel at that place is only 5 German miles. Though we were lying still, hardly a day passed without severe storms, so that our large ship was dancing in the water day and night like a little ball, which most of us were not accustomed to.[2] When we had waited long enough and no express convoy arrived from London, we put our trust in Him who was our protector, and ventured on the 8th of March to sail with a good eastern breeze right through the French jaws of war, *i.e.* the Channel, accompanied by some other ships which, likewise, took the risk.[3] Four days we sailed in the Channel without

[1] We spent our time in edifying discourses and biblical lessons. On the 27th of February we sent letters to London and to Tob. Ad. Lauterbach and others in Germany, from whom we had received most cheering answers. The three families, from whom we had already in London separated on account of their evil conduct, gave, by their quarrels and brawls, offence even to the sailors, who wondered that men should strike women. (Kelpius.)

On the 3d of March a new anchor was received in place of the lost one.

[2] On the 4th of March I received a letter from Samuel Waldenfield, in London, at the Lamp in Fennhard Street, with a draft of the pious virgin Catharine Beerens van Bofing on Samuel Standerwick in Deal. This gentleman received me and my friend Selig the next day very kindly. He listened with the greatest pleasure to our account of the Pietists in Germany, and invited us to repeat our visit. We were prevented from doing so by our sailing on the 8th of March. (Kelpius.)

[3] Nineteen ships, three of which were men-of-war.

The following memorandum in English is inserted in Kelpius's Latin diary in a different handwriting:

seeing a ship of the enemy. On the 12th of March we arrived at Plymouth, the last harbor on the English side of the Channel.[1] In this harbor we lay by again 5 weeks waiting for the convoy from London. During that time we were frequently allowed to leave the ship and visit the town. We received here a letter from Lauterbach and a note from Mr. Schmaltz in Erfurt. We also wrote many letters to

"Instructions for the better keeping company with their Maj's ship Sandador Prize under my command.

"If I weigh in the day I will haule home my foretopsail sheets and fire a gunn. If in the night, I will putt a light in the main top mast shrouds and fire a gun, which light you are to answer. If I weigh in a fog I will fire 3 gunns distantly one after another. If I anchor in the night or in a fogg, I will fire 2 guns a small distance of time one from the other and putt abroad a light more than my constant lights, which light you are to answer.

"If I lie by or try in the night, I will fire two guns and keep a light abroad more than my constant light in the Main shrouds and if through extreamity of weather we are forced to lye a Holl or under a Mizen, I will fire three guns and put abroad two lights of equal height more than my constant light; and if I make sail in the night after blowing weather or after lying by or for any other reason I will make the same sing [sign ?] as for weighing in the night which light you are to answer.

"In case of separation if we meet by day the weathermost ship shall lower his Fore top sail and then the leward shall answer by lowering their main top sail.

"He that apprehends any danger in the night shall fire guns and put abroad three lights of equal hight and bear away or tack from it; but if it should happen to be strange ships, then make false fires and endeavor to speak with my; and to better to know each other in the night, he that hails shall ask what ship is that and he that is hailed shall answer *Adventure*, then he that hailed first shall reply *Rupert*.

"If I have a desire to speak with you I will hoist a Jack-Flag in my mizen-top mast shrouds and make a weft with my ensign.

"If you have a desire to speak you shall hoist your ensign in your Main-Top-Mast Shrouds.

"If in the night you chance to spring a leak keep firing of Guns and showing of lights

"Dated on board their Maj'is Ship Will. Allen.

"Sandador Prize March 9. 169¾."

[1] They secured a good place of anchorage, the same which Dutch ships-of-war then leaving had occupied. Kelpius calls attention to the fact that the fort which protects the harbor is armed with 365 cannon.

Germany.[1] Our exercises on board the ship consisted in discourses of various kind and interpretations of Scripture, in which those who felt inclined took part. We had, also, prayer meetings and sang hymns of praise and joy, several of us accompanying on instruments that we had brought from London. As many as believed in the glorious presence of the Lord at all places and at all times, evinced true godliness, while those who had no such faith were as wicked on water as on land and by showing in the greatest dangers always the faintest hearts betrayed how they were branded by their own conscience.

When, at last, a convoy from London was no longer hoped for, as it happened that a fleet of Spanish men-of-war[2] in Plymouth harbor was ready to sail for Cadiz or Lisbon, our captain, and the masters of some other ships bargained with the Admiral for a sum of money to convoy us 200 Dutch miles into the ocean. When the terms were agreed upon, we weighed anchor and with a good Eastern breeze set sail on the 18th of April, still keeping close to the English coast with Brest in France on the other side. We saw that day several large ships coming towards us. The men-of-war, under the impression that they were enemies, got ready for them, but as we came nearer each other we recognized the Portuguese flags. Having fired some salutes they proceeded on their way to London. On the 24th of April we had for 24 hours so thick a fog that we could hardly see our own ship and the bells had to be rung, otherwise we should have become separated. We lost sight of the English coast, but subsequently[3] descried it, at a distance, like flames of fire. Steering more to the southward we could in a few hours, see no more a finger's breadth of land. Then, as we entered the great ocean, the

[1] Kelpius received letters from Cleves and Konberg questioning the expediency of emigrating. He replied to the objections and wrote to Lauterbach, Mons. de Watteville, Meerkamp, and others, mostly in London.

[2] Danish, Swedish, and Spanish. (K.)

[3] At sunset. (K.)

Lord gave us good speed, so that our ship went like drawn by the horses of Jehovah and guided by the wings of Cherubim, as a pious man, illumined by a divine vision, had foreseen, while we were yet in London. On the 25th of April, favored by an Eastern breeze we and another English ship which carried 18 guns took leave of the Spaniards, both sides firing many salutes.[1] They went due south, we followed a southwestern course. Till the end of this month we had good weather and favorable wind, but in May it began to look very dark; often it stormed continually for 24 hours and once early in the morning the gale was so violent, that two of our top masts snapped and we could, for several days use only a single sail.[2] How one fares under such circumstances, no one knows better than he who has had the experience. As far as the ship is concerned, there is no danger upon the ocean, because the water is, for the most part, as deep as the highest clouds are above the face of the earth; hence it cannot be fathomed and there is nothing for the ship to strike against. The wind, at last, died away and the surface of the sea became as smooth as a pavement of ivory. Underneath it looked like a beautiful, entirely transparent green emerald. We had frequently occasion to wonder at the works of the Lord, especially at the strange creatures of the deep. We often saw near our ship fish of monstrous size, spouting water as fire engines do; to watch them in the water keeping us company was wonderful. Flying fish provided with wings and fins often came near us. One day we caught a big fish which the English call shark; it has a way of prowling after ships so as to snap up people or whatever else falls over board. They can bite through a man at his waist. When the one we had caught was hoisted aboard by a thick rope, an English dog that wanted to catch hold of him, would have been bitten to death, had he not quickly scampered away.

[1] The commander of the Spanish fleet was Nicholas de Rudder. (K.)

[2] Kelpius notes from day to day the state of the weather, direction of the wind, course and speed of the ship.

On the 10th of May our faith was again put on trial. We were only two ships and saw in the morning, when the weather was fair and quiet, three vessels in the distance. (Mark, when at sea a foreign ship comes in sight, immediately alarm is given and everything put in readiness for an encounter.) Many of us became depressed in mind from a presentiment that they were hostile French ships. They steered directly towards us, but on account of the calm could make no headway for 5 or 6 hours. About noon we could see by the telescope that they carried white flags with lilies, enough to show, that this day things would take a French, not a Christian turn. As soon as this was ascertained, every thing was made ready for battle. The passengers were given the choice to fight or not. We, of course, abstained of carnal weapons and taking the shield of faith sat down between decks behind boxes and cases, prayed and invoked the Lord, every one for himself, as on account of the great noise and the report of cannons nothing could have been heard. We had hardly got down, when a French frigate with 24 cannon and a merchant ship with 6 cannon made straight for our ship and opened fire so vigorously, that it was really time to pray for averting great calamity. The merciful Father made the enemies' balls drop into the water before our ship, only one cannon ball struck the ship over our heads without doing harm to anybody, though the ship got a hole two ells above the water line. In the mean time our cannon and ball were not idle, but did great damage to the enemies' ships, which we inferred from their retreat. But half an hour afterwards they resumed the attack. Then a 12 pound ball was sent right through the captain's room, but inflicted no damage; the captain's boy who carried a bottle in his hand came very near being hit; the ball took the bottle so neatly out of his hand that he hardly knew the ball had done it. An hour later the frigate fell back a little and with the third vessel, which carried 12 guns attacked our fellow ship, which, however, made a good defense. Here it happened that a Frenchman on the merchant vessel while aiming with his

rifle at our captain, while on the point of shooting, was rent to pieces by a cannon ball, before he could pull the trigger. Whether the shot came from our companion ship or ours nobody knows. The enemy stopped firing, expecting us to capitulate or else, designing to turn to our port, but it pleased the Lord to make an end of the racket that day and to drive the enemy to flight by means no one would have thought of. For the Lord put it into the heart of our captain to call all males on deck, and to make them join his crew in raising a pretended shout of joy. When this was done and the enemy observed on our ship, contrary to expectation, so many heads, whom, they thought, had been fighting and would continue to fight, it was as if their cannons had at once become dumb and their courage sunk into the sea like a millstone. The Lord struck them with fear, so they suddenly turned their ships about and fled away from us.[1] The large frigate gave the signal of flight; but the others could not follow so swiftly and we might easily have captured both of them. Our captain, however, was satisfied when the merchant ships hoisting a white flag surrendered. Then we also stopped firing. The two other ships got off; the third fell into our hands. There were on board twenty four Frenchmen, among them one of the reformed faith, who had been attending mass under compulsion. Seven were taken aboard our ship, including this Huguenot, who liked our company and was pleased that we could speak his language and assuage in some measure his bruised conscience.[2] The others were taken on board by our fellows. The ship had a cargo of sugar and came from Martinique under the 17th degree of Latitude. At first the prisoners raised a great wail and lamentation; they had expected to land in France as freemen and had now to return

[1] It was at this point that the "Providence," the companion of the "Sarah Maria," came up and joined in the pursuit. Being the faster of the two, she chased and engaged the hostile frigate. The battle lasted four hours, but only three balls of the enemy struck, doing little damage to the ship and none to the men. (K.)

[2] Kelpius makes no mention of this incident.

to America in captivity. But thus they had meant to serve us. The Lord fulfilled on them what is written Revel. ch. 13, "He that leadeth into captivity shall go into captivity."[1]

After this visitation we continued our journey with very favorable wind and weather. Nothing occurred, except that we were several times frightened by a false alarm.[2] English ships met us on two occasions, being bound from America to Europe. The encounter had taken place right on the middle of the ocean. On the 12th of June at 10 o'cl A.M. we had a great eclipse of the sun.[3] In the evening of the same day we had the first glance of America. On the 14th we entered Chesapeake Bay, or the big sound, which stretching along Virginia from south to north is 75 German miles long. On the 19th of June, having traversed the sound to its end we stepped on land. The first thing we did was to thank the Lord upon our knees for having carried us, as on eagles' wings such an immense distance through all the gates of death. We hope, in this land also, His mercy will not be wasted on us, especially as we are assured that we have come hither by His will.[4]

[1] The distribution of the cargo, consisting of sugar and cider, gave rise to dissatisfaction, which the captain finally quelled by allowing to all an equal share in the "unjust Mammon." (K.)

[2] Kelpius mentions the curious monsters of the deep that kept up a race with the ship and at night-time seemed to be swimming in fire. On the 17th of May a ship returning from Antigua, which at first was taken for one of the enemy, came near enough to exchange salutations and to receive letters for London. The "Providence" took the captured ship in tow, and in consequence, losing in speed, was left behind.

[3] They observed it in latitude 36° 45′. On the evening of the same day (June 12) they entered Chesapeake Bay, which Kelpius calls the Bay of Virginia.

[4] They reported in Maryland to fourteen royal commissioners, informing them who they were and why they had come to reside in America.

Nearly at the close of his diary, under the date of June 17, Kelpius enters a memorandum of "that notable excommunication of Falkner and of the prophetess of Erfurt, Anna Maria Schuchart, by Köster." Nothing is added to explain this enigma. As far as Falkner is concerned, the excommunication may have been the explosive result of a disagreement between the two. Anna Maria Schuchart, also known by the

This province of America is mostly inhabited by English, Dutchmen, Germans and Swedes, who have laid out these very fine cities, villages and plantations. It is a country that supports its laborers abundantly; there is plenty of food. What pleases me here most is that one can be peasant, scholar, priest and nobleman all at the same time without interference, which of all modes of living has been found to be the best and most satisfactory since patriarchal times. To be a peasant and nothing else is a sort of cattle-life; to be a scholar and nothing else, such as in Europe, is a morbid and self-indulgent existence; to be a priest and nothing else ties life to blunders and responsibilities; to be a nobleman and nothing else makes godless and riotous. The religion most generally professed in this province is that of the Quakers, who have their name from quaking or trembling. Having in their collective body been active long time in holding up to the kings and nations of Europe the signal of contrition, they now must themselves, passively, confirm the truth of this signal on account of the pride and foolish arrogant ignorance of their members. I wrote from London that in our times a teacher has stepped forward there among them, prophesying of a great earthquake. This has here in America begun to manifest itself among them. For a learned and godly man, George Keith by name, who for 19 years has been a preacher among them (previously he was a professor at Oxford) commenced two years ago to lay bare their worst errors and to expose their teachers' pride and their ignorance of the Word of God. Hence the eyes of many have been opened to see that they have erred against God's Writ and they have publicly seceded. This has produced such a shattering among them,

sobriquet "Erfurt Lizzie," was a servant-girl that had spells attended with visions and prophetic utterances. While some denounced her as a humbug, others thought her divinely inspired. There is nothing to lead us to think that she was a fellow-passenger of Kelpius, and it cannot be explained why she became the object of Köster's wrath.

All landed on the 19th of June, arrived at New Castle on the 22d, at Philadelphia on the 23d, and at Germantown on the 24th. Kelpius's diary contains no remarks about America.

that one piece of their meeting-customs lies splintered here, another there; there is sighing on account of the vanity and folly of their teachers, some of whom have gone so far, as to consider the inward light, such as the heathens have, sufficient for salvation, thus degrading Christ, His justification, blood and death. These and other absurdities have gained ground among them because of their ignorance of Scripture, which many of them, puffed up with their fantastic light, have ceased to hold in honor. I say this particularly of their ministers, the others are simple-minded sheep. This George Keith went last year to London (where there are more than 100,000 of them) with the same success reported of him in these parts. Here, then, there is a gate for a great harvest, which the Lord opens for us wider and wider, giving us strength to make his Philadelphic Word a foundation on which Jerusalem can descend from above. Ye European Churchwomen, consider, unless you put off your soiled garments of religion, you cannot enter into the Philadelphia which the Lord awakens anew out of a little pebble and a paltry mustard seed, rather outside of your European Babylon than within it, as the future will show.

We have here, in Germantown, a man by the name of Jacob Isaac, a native of Crefeld on the Rhine, near Holland. He was formerly a Mennonite, but he desires to depart with his whole house, to acknowledge and abandon the follies, scandals, shortcomings and stains of his former religion. So there are many hundreds here, made free by Christ, the Son of God. There has been wanting thus far, as they admit, good leadership. In the house of this man there are every week three meetings, at which Köster generally speaks publicly to the great edification of those present. It is, also, his custom to hold a meeting once a week in Philadelphia, in which he speaks English. Babylon and the Antichrist are not so rampant here as with you; the people are, on the whole, free and seek to rise and to advance with no one to prevent it.

N. lives apart here at Germantown with N., whom he has taken for his wife. But we mean to remain free according

to the better advice of St. Paul at this time. The people show us much love. A gentleman of Philadelphia gave us the other day 175 acres of land 3 miles from Germantown; others have promised to give us still more. We are now beginning to build a house there, and the people lend us all possible help. We place this to the credit of the public good and expect not a foot's breadth on our own account. For we are resolved, besides giving public instruction to the little children of this country, to take many of them to ourselves and have them day and night with us, so as to lay in them the foundation of a stable permanent character. With them the beginning must be made, otherwise there will be only mending and patching of the old people.

We cannot know on what particulars you desire information, therefore draft questions and send them, you shall not remain without good and full answers. None of you sent us a line during our stay at London, while we wrote you so many letters. Make a note of this and do not continue as you have done. You must send the same letter 1. 2. 3 times and always keep a copy; one is pretty sure to come to hand. This we shall do on our part. I for my person give you the following advice and address. Send the letter thus directed: To Mr. N. in America in Pennsylvania, at present, in Germantown, care of Mr. Diego Numez da Costa, Dreckwall at Hamburg. This pious rich Portuguese Jew will send it directly to his brother in London, who will surely and without fail forward it to the proper place. Communicate this letter to all good friends *cito*. At the next opportunity offering from here I shall write more. May the Lord be with your wisdom and his name be your strong castle. Amen! I remain yours

N. N.
Germantown in Pennsylvania Americæ
Aug. 7th. 1694.

ESSAY OF AN ONONDAGA GRAMMAR, OR A SHORT INTRODUCTION TO LEARN THE ONONDAGA *AL.* MAQUA TONGUE.

BY REV. DAVID ZEISBERGER.

CONTRIBUTED BY JOHN W. JORDAN.

[A minute of a church council, held at Bethlehem 15th July, 1742, recommends the study of the Delaware Indian dialect, in order to facilitate intercourse with individuals of that nation, whose visits to the settlement were then of almost daily occurrence. This was within two years followed by the establishment of a school for the instruction of missionaries in both of the Delaware and Mohawk dialects. The Rev. John C. Pyrlæus was appointed tutor; and among the members of the first class was David Zeisberger, who for upwards of forty years was employed in the Indian mission of his church. This distinguished missionary probably did more than any other man of his time to develop both the Delaware, and the Onondaga dialect of the Iroquois. Fourteen of his manuscripts are preserved in the library of Harvard University, and among those in the Moravian Archives at Bethlehem is his German-Onondaga Lexicon, vii. vols., 2367 pp. We are indebted to the courtesy of the Rt. Rev. Edmund de Schweinitz, S.T.D., for the use of the manuscript and English translation, by Bishop John Ettwein, which we have transcribed to these pages, the original title of which we have also retained.]

§ I.

The Indians have no Characters or Letters of their own, but borrow them from the English, as they did from the Latins.

As they have no Writings or Books & no Schools amongst them, the sound of those Letters is not determined amongst them, the Author of this Essay, being a German, thought it convenient to spell their Words in the German or Latin way, where every letter is pronounced & none needlessly used in their Syllables or Words, according to that, This Tongue has no more than

(a) 21 Letters viz: 5 Vowels: *a, e, i, o, u.*
16 Consonants: *c, d, g, h, j, k, l, n, q, r, s, t, w, u, x, z.*

NOTE. *b, f, m, p* & *ph* are not usual in their Words, and the Onondagos cannot well pronounce them in the English Words, they turn commonly *p* into *q* & *F* into *W*, *e.g.*

Peter, *Quiter.*
Frederick, *Wredrick.*

They use Diphthongs *ae, ai, ee, ei, eu, ü.*

(b) Pronunciation of the Letters:
a, *awe*, e, *eh*, i, *ih* (not *ei*), o, *u*, *uh* (not *ju*), c before e & i as a *z*, else as a *k*.
g, neither as *J the* nor as *jot*, but as a mild *k*. t, always as *t* (& not *sh*) tho' before i and after that another Vowel, *e.g*, *Jentie* (to come again) as *Jenthie*. *Watidge*, to make water, as *Wathidge.*

§ II.

Accents are 3. Acute, grave & circumflex: the first lies always upon antepenultima or penultima—
the second on ultima—
the third on ultima & penultima.

§ III.

Words are either simple or compound. Wachtandi, *to go.* tenta wachtandi, *to go back*, jorke, *to-morrow*—ojantshiorhe, *the Day after to-morrow.*
Ganiatare, *the Sea.* Ganiataregóna, *the open or great Sea.*
either primitives or derivatives Otshishta, *Fire*, tioschischtacherong, *firy.* Ochna, *fat, oil*, ochnara, *fatty, oily.* Ochnecanòs, *water.* ochnecátschi, *watery.*

Parts of Speech or *Partes orationis* are 7. Noun, Pronoun, Verb, Adverb, Preposition, Interjection, Conjunction. (the Participle is wanting.)

A) The Noun signifying the Name or Quality of a Thing, is either Substantive or adjective [*Note*]

1.) Substantive the Name of a Thing; as Unque, *Man.* Ganataje, *a Town.* Garōnta, *a Tree.* Joháte, *the way.* Geihuháte, *the River.*

2.) An Adjective signifies the accident, quality, or Property of a Thing, as: Ojáneri, *good.* Wahótke, *bad.* jos, *long.*

3.) A Substantive Noun is either Proper or Appellative.

a proper Substantive, is in this as in other Tongues, that which agrees to one particular Thing of a kind, as: Onondage, Delaware, Susquehannah, Kaskaskung.

4.) an Appelative Substantive is that which is common to a whole kind of Things, as:

Ganatáje, *a Town.*
Unque, *a Man.*
Geihate, *a River.*
Garonta, *a Tree.*

5.) The Genders are 3. Masculine, feminine and neuter.

The two Genders of Nature, viz. male & female are known by the name or word itself, as:

Etschinak, *a Man.* Echro, *a Woman.* Onogaronto, *a Buck.* Tionhósquarunt, *a Cow.*

Note. They are only declined by Genders & Numbers and have no cases.

2dly by the Præfixis, as: Sajadat, *a male Person.* Sgajadat, *a female Person*, t'hiátage, *2 persons* (masc.) t'giátage, 2 *Persons* (femin.), achso nihanati, *3 Persons* (masc.), achso negunati, *3 Persons* (femin.), The præformative *g* is not only used in the females by Nature in the Singular & plural number, as: Echro, *a female* or *Woman*, *Singul.* Géchro, *plur.* Guntiéchro; but in the plural number, to all cattle & game, where the sexes is not purposely distinguished.

Neuter are all Words which have no Præfixes nor accept any.

6.) The Onondagos have two Numbers as the English: The Singular & plural. the plural number has always a Syllable added to the singular, *e.g.* schóh.

Ganhóchwa, *the Door, pl.* Ganhochwaschóh.
Garonta, *the Tree, pl.* Garontaschóh.
Echro, *a female Woman, pl.* Echroschóh.

2.) nnie. In such words that end with *a, e,* & *o,* & signify Rivers, Hills, Country's, Marshes, Springs, Roads, viz:

Ononta, *the Mountain,* pl. Onontannie.
Geiháte, *the River,* pl. Geihatennie.
Ganiatáre, *the Sea,* pl. Ganiatárennie.
Ganawáte, *the Morass,* pl. Ganawátennie.
Johâte, *the Way,* pl. Johaténnie.
Jochnawaróto, *the Spring,* pl. Jochnawarotónnie
except: Tiogachrahnte has tonnie.

3.) hogu or ogu,
as: unque, *man,* pl. unquehogu, men, *mankind.*

Garochia, *the Heaven,* pl. Garochiahogu.
Ochnéca, *the Water,* pl. Ochnécahogu.
Otschistenochqua, *the Star,* pl. Otschistenochquahogu.
Achsŏnta, *the Night,* pl. Achsonthógau.
Ozháta, *the Cloud,* pl. Ozhatahógu.

7.) The Nouns compounded with the adjectives *ios* long, change both the Vowels of *ios* into *es* & in plural *eso, e.g.*

Garonta, a *Tree.*
Garontes, a *long Tree.*
Garontéso, *long Trees.*
Onŏnta, a *Mountain.*
Onontès, a *long Mountain.*
Onontéso, *long Mountains.*

8.) In the proper Nouns where a certain Number is compounded with the final Syllable *age* is added, as:

Ganatâje, *a Town.*
T'ganatage, *two Towns.*
achso ne ganatage, *three Towns.*
gajéri ne ganatage, &c.
Unque, *Man.*
tiunquetage, *two men.*
achso ne unquetage, *three men,* &c.
onochsâje, *the House.*
t'ganochsage, *two houses.*

9.) Declensions of Onondago Nouns and Adjectives, by Cases, are not found except that sometimes the Vocative case in Words beginning with a Vowel is distinguished as

well in the singular as the plural number by præfixing of *S.*, as:

Unque, *Man;* Sunque, *thou man.*
Sunquanis, *thou our God.*
Sajaner, *thou Lord.*
Sunquajaner, *thou our Lord.*

and the Ablative by adding a Præposition, as:

Ochneca, *the Water.*
Ochnecáge, *in the Water.*
garochiáge, *in Heaven.*

10.) *Personæ orationis* are Three, which are expressed by Præfixis, as well in the Nouns as Verbs, as:

giatattige, *my brother.*
tschiatattége, *thy brother.*
hatattage, *his brother.*
pl. unqua or t'watattége, *our brother.*
S'watattège, *your brother.*
hunnatattège, *their brother.*
geháwak, *my child;* Sahawak, *thy child.*
heháwak, *his child.*

b.) Adjectives mostly coalesce with the Substantives, as:

Eniage, *the hand.*
Ostwi, *little.*
Eniastwi, *a little hand.*
Ochsita, *the foot.*
goano, *big.*
ochsitowano, *a big Foot.*

1.) They are flexible [declinable] as well as the Verbs they coalesce with the Subst. as:

Wagenckstwa, *my hand is little.*
Saniàstwi, *thy hand is little.*
honiástwi, *his hand.*
gachsitowáno, *I have a big foot.*
sachsitowano, *thou hast a big foot.*
ôstwi, *little;* gàstwi, *I am little.*
Sastwi, *thou art little;* hostwi, *he is little.*

2.) Some indeclinable, but have yet the present and future Mood, as:

Agajung, *old;* præs. agajùchne.
orhésta, *white;* præs. orhestachqua.
tiôgaras, *dark;* præs. tiogarásqua; fut. 'njogarak, *it will be dark.*

ochnótes, ochnótong, *deep;* præs. ochnotéchqua; fut. 'njochnotong.
otarichè, *warm;* præs. otarichóchqua; fut. 'njotariche.
ios, *long;* præs. iòsqua.
ochranuwe, *wet;* præs. ochquanuwésqua.
Warochiocu, *blew.*
ozitquaroiu, *yellow.*
ochnára, *greasy.*

3.) The indeclinable either coalesce with the Substantives or stand by themselves.

In the first case the singular and plural differ in the last syllable, as:

Garõnta, *the Tree;* and agàjung, *old.*
gàrontagàjung, *an old tree.*
pl. garontagajungschòh.
ase, *new;* garontàse, *a green tree.*
pl. garontaseschòh.
Ochsita, *the foot;* ochsitès, *a long foot;* pl. ochsitéso.

the others make no difference in the singular & plural number, as:

essowa, *many.* Tschióchara, *Pidgeon.*
essowa harriochne Tschiochara.—*He shot many Pidgeons.*
otschiõnta, *Fish.*
essowa honawichne otschiõnta.—*He caught many fishes.*
gàhris tiochriro, *torn stockings.*
Hachtáchqua tiochriro, *torn shoes.*

4.) Most of the Adjectives distinguish the masculine and feminine gender, as:

Jonnochwactani, *sick.*
honnochwactani, *he is sick.*
gonnochwactani, *she is sick.*
Unquetahétke, *a bad man.*
hunquetahétke, *he is a bad man.*
gunquetahétke, *she is a bad creature.*
Unquetio, *a good man.*
Junquetio, *he is a good man.*
gunquetio, *she is a good creature.*

5.) a few adjectives of the indeclinable who do not coalesce with the Substantive, make no Difference between the male & female kind, as:

Orhésta, *white.*
tiógaras, *dark.*

Otaté, . . .
Ochnotes, *deep.*
tiochriro, *torn.*
tiodwenóni, *round.*

6.) The Substantive is placed before the Adjective when they do not coalesce, as:

Gazheta tiodwenoni, *a round glass.*
Gáris tiochriro, *stockings torn.*
onaja tiodwenoni, *a ball round.*

But if the Adjective implies the Word *is* or *are* then it goes before the Substantive and the adjective becomes a verb, as:

Tiodwenoni Gazheta, *round is the Glass.*
tiochriro gariĉhsa, *torn are my stockings.*

7.) Where two adjectives meet & one coalesce with the Substantive, that which becomes a verb is placed last, as:

Uchwuntschiaquéki tiodwenoni,
the whole World is round.
Uchwuntschiaqueki wahétke,
the whole World is wicked.
Unquequeki hotihétke,
all Men are spoiled.

8.) But where the Substantive & Adjective not coalesce & a verb is added, the Substantive comes in the middle before the Verb, as:

Oqueki unquehogu hotihetke,
all Mankind is spoiled.
Oquéki agozenenschōh gaichéje,
all the cattle died.
Oqueki Zatonochsaje jagoquatos,
His whole family is sick.

9.) Of numeral Adjectives.

a.) *Cardinal.*

1. Skata
2. Tekeni
3. Achso
4. Gajeri
5. Wisk
6. Achiak
7. Tschoatak

8. Tekiro
9. Watiro
10. Wasshè
11. Wasshè skata gachera
12. Wasshè tekeni "
13. Wasshè achso ne gachera
14. Wasshè gajeri "
15. Wasshè wisk gachera
16. Wasshè achiak "
17. Wasshè tshóatak gachera
18. Wasshè tekiro "
19. Wasshé watiro "
20. T'wasshe
21. T'wasshe skata "
30. Achso ne wasshè
40. Gajeri " "
50. Wisk " "
60. Achiak " "
70. Tshoatakè ne wassh
80. Tèkiro " "
90. Watiro " "
100. Wasshè ne wasshè or Skata t'wanniawe
110. Skata t'wanniawe wasshè ne gachero or Skata joshechseróta
120. Skata t'wanniawe tekeni joshechseróta
130. Skata t'wanniawe achso ne joshechseróta
140. Skata t'wanniawe gajera ne "
150. Skata " wisk " "
160. Skata " achiak "
170. Skata " tshoàtek "
180. Skata " tékero "
190. Skata " wátiro "
200. T'wænniawe
300. Achso ne t'wænniawe
400. Gajeri " "
500. Wisk " "
600. Achiak " "
700. Tshoatak ne t'wænniawe

800. Tékire ne t'wænniawe
900. Wátiro " "
1000. Wasshe ne t'wenniawe or ne wænniawechserásshe
2000. T'wænniawechserásshe
3000. Áchso ne wænniawechserásshe
4000. Gajeri " "
5000. Wisk " "
6000. Achiak " "
7000. Tschoátak ne wænniawechserásshe
8000. Tekiro " "
9000. Wátiro " "
10000. Wasshè " "
20000. Twasshè " "
30000. Achso ne wásshe ne wænniawechserásshe
40000. Gajeri " " " "
50000. Wisk ne wásshe ne wænniawechserásshe
60000. Áchiak " " " "
70000. Tshoátak ne " " "
80000. Tekiro " " " "
90000. Watiro " " " "
100000. Wasshè " " " "
200000. T'wænniawe ne Wásshe ne wænniawechserásshe
300000. Achso ne T'wænniawe " "
400000. Gajeri " " " "
500000. Wisk " " " "
600000. Achiak " " " "
700000. Tshoátak ne T'wænniawe " "
800000. Tekiro " " " "
900000. Watiro " " " "
1000000. T'wænniawechserásshe " "

Note 1. Skata & Tekeni coalesce with the Substantive so, that from the first, sk or s is put before & ata or tat at the end of it, as:

Onochsaje, *the House.* Skenochsata, *one House.*
Ganhóchwa, *the Door.* Skanhochwata, *one Door.*
Ojata, *the Person,* Sajadat, *one Person, male,* or Sgajadat, *one Person, female.*

10.) If the initial letter *e*, *i*, or *u*, the *k* is changed into *ch*, with *T* before it or rather *Tsch*, as:

Eniage, *the Hand.* Tscheniata, *one Hand.*
Jóchserat, *the Winter.* Tschióchserat, *one Winter.*
Unque, *Man.* Tschiunquetat, *one Man.*

11.) From Tekeni is only T with an apostrophe or Ti instead of Te put before the Substantive and Syllable age placed at the end instead of another finale, as:

Ganatáje, *the Town*, T'ganatage, *two Towns*, Unque, *man*, Tiunquétage, *two men.* Jochserat, *the Winter*, Tiochserage, *two Winters.*

Note: Use alone can teach where these two words coalesce with the Substantive or not, for if you say: Skata ganhochwa it is plain you mean *one door*, but that is not Onondagish, but Skata ochquari, *one Bear* or Tekeni ochquári, *two Bears*, is proper and not Skochquarat or t'gochquarage. Skata Tachióni & not Skatachionata.

12.) Where Skata & Tekeni do not coalesce with the Substantive, Person or Head is often made use of instead of them, as:

instead of Skáta etchinak, *one Man;* Sajedat Etschinak.
" Skata Echro, *one Woman*, Sgajadat Ethro.
" Tekeni hatitschinak, *two Men;* thiatage hatchschinak.
" Tekeni guntiechro, *two Women;* tgiatagè guntiechro.—but this is only usual with living creatures.

When the Discourse is about Cattle the feminine gender is usually applied, as:

Sgajadat Tionhosquaront, *one Head of Horn Cattle.*
not Sajadat "
Tgiatagè Tionhosquaront
not T'hiatage "

Yet Sgajadat is not so common instead of Skata as t'giatage instead of Tekeni.

13.) The Adjective: many is often expressed by the Substantive, Jotgóte, *a multitude*, as:

Enasquagáte, *many Cattle,*
Unquegotgáte, *many Men,*
Otgoragáte, *many Wampum,*
Ochwistágate, *much money.*

b. *Ordinals.* Upon the question: Tohniwathonta?
Is it the first, second, &c.

Tistiérechte, *the first.*
Tekeniwathōnta, *the second.*
Áchsowathōnta, *the third*
Gajeri " *the fourth, and so forth.*

To these belong also the numerals when in measuring & weighing one ½ or ¼ is above a whole sum, as:

Wisk (*5*) Satewachsænewathōnta (½) i.e. *5½, five & a half.*

T'wasshe (*20*) Satewachsænewathōnta (½) i.e. *twenty & one half.*

c. *Multiplicatives*, are none in this Tongue, they are expressed by Ordinals, as:

Tekeni Zanihuntiatóte, they are of a (double) two fold kind (or Gender)

Achso (*3*) ne tioháttie (*ways*)—three different ways (Roads), gachschirowáno (cord, rope) gajeri ne gachschirage (of 4 threads)—a fourfold rope or cord.

Achso ne tiojéki, *thrice divided*—⅓.

Gajeri ne tiojáki, *4 times divided*—¼

d. *Distributives.* Upon the question Tohnihatti? how many each time? as:

Skatahattie, *each 1.*
Tekenihattie, " *2.*
Achsohattie, " *3.*
Gajerihattie, " *4.*
Wiskhattie, " *5.*
T'wasshehattie wahojaki—*he gave each 20.*
Wasshehattie tionquanonta—*Ten has been given to each of us.*

e.) *Proportionals.* Upon the question: tohni gáchera Zaniocht agoja? *how many more than the other?* are expressed by Cardinals, they say either *e.g.*

Achso ne wágie—*I have 3*
Achiak hóje—*he has 6, or*

Óras netoniung hoje zaniocht ne J—*he has as much again as I have.*

Tekeni netoniung—*twice as much.*

Achso netoniung—*thrice as much.*

f.) *Temporals* are partly expressed by Cardinals, partly by compounds of Cardinals & Substantives, as:

Upon the question: tóhni Jochserége? *How many years? or how old?*

Jochseràt—*the winter.*

Tshióchserat—*one year or winter.*

Tiochserage—*two years.*

Achso ne jochserage—*three years.*

Tiochserásshe—*twenty years.*

Achso ne jochserasshe, *thirty years.*

Gajeri " " *forty years.*

S'wechnítat, *one month old or long.*

Twechnitage, *two months.*

Àchso ne weshnitage, *three months.*

T'wechnitásshe, *twenty months.*

S'wæhntàt, *one day.*

T'gawàntage, *two days.*

Àchso ne wahntage, *three days, and so forth to 20.*

there is more proper to say—

T'wachsontásshe, *twenty Nights.*

Àchso ne wachsontasshe, *thirty nights.*

Gajeri " " *forty nights instead of days.*

Upon the question: how often? They answer by Cardinals, as:

Wasshe ne Wasshe, *ten times ten.*

(To be continued.)

LETTERS OF HON. GEORGE M. DALLAS.

FROM THE AUTOGRAPH COLLECTION OF FERDINAND J. DREER.

[The following letters of the Hon. George M. Dallas, written while Vice-President of the United States and when Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of St. James (with one exception), are addressed to his friend, the late Henry M. Phillips, Esq., of Philadelphia. They will be read with interest, as the writer gives his version of several events in the political history of the day, which created considerable excitement and criticism.]

MY DEAR SIR,

. . . The enquiry as to Peace or War has lost none of its intensity. Since carefully reading some French papers sent me by Mr. Corbin, now in Paris, and comparing the measured and meaning phrases of the ministers in the House of Commons with those of the ministers in the Chamber of Deputies, I have been forced to the opinion, notwithstanding a superficial gloss, that there is a mutual understanding that England is to fight us rather than accept the offered 49. degree. This opinion is corroborated by the obvious results of her intrigues in Mexico, where they seem almost ready to rush *en masse* to the Rio Bravo, in order to get at the accursed Americans. I don't much mind a war in a good cause against any single adversary: but two wars on hand at the same time are not quite so attractive. If they come, however, we can weather them out; they may deface what Abbé Corréa called the Portico of our national temple, the eastern margin of cities and towns on the Atlantic, but they cannot reach the great building itself, in our interior;—we shall suffer no doubt, but, when you and I are forgotten in our graves, our descendants will

have clusters of laurels where we have only sprigs. As to good old Pennsylvania, she will, at once, and forever, be relieved of an annual payment of 1,300,000 Ds. which she now regularly remits to British creditors. So, as Rochefoucault says, there is no immense calamity which has not concealed within it some consolation. . . .

Truly & respt Yrs

G. M. DALLAS.

2 Mar. '46.

(Confidential.)

MY DEAR SIR,

The vote of yesterday in Senate against referring the Tariff Bill to the Committee is conclusive as to the state of the Senate on the question, and makes me, as Vice-President the arbiter. Hence, they who feel any interest in my futurity must prepare themselves for the consequence of seeing the Baltimore Convention's resolution strictly carried out.

There were 9 absentees.

Atherton—D.
Cameron—W.
Speeght—D.
Webster—W.
Dayton—W.
Miller—W.
Haywood—D.
Dix—D.
B—W.
Greene—W. had paired off and did not vote, tho' present.

Whigs voting	22
" absent	6
	28
Dem. voting	24
" absent	4
	28

Mr. B. will be nominated for the *Bench* by & by.

Truly Yr

G. M. DALLAS.

7 July '46.

MY DEAR SIR,

I laboured night and day indefatigably to bring about a compromise, and had a dozen shapes for it, any one of which I made no hesitation to declare should commend the casting vote of the V. P. The Whigs, however, were controverted by Crittenden and Evans, and would not listen to terms. Webster was anxious for an arrangement. —— & —— might, at one time, have accomplished it:—but they shrank from the responsibility, being urged on by boors here to extreme exactions, until the time passed. After I had, by my casting vote, ordered the Bill to a third reading, then, forsooth, —— rises, apparently frightened to death, and offers Mr. Webster's printed compromise. The Cataract was tumbling, and his offer was a mere straw opposed to its impetus.

I am quite conscious that my Casting vote, forced out by [ ], exposes me to a torrent of abuse. Were every drop in that torrent an avalanche, it should not have turned me from the redemption of my public pledge. I have been inundated with threatening anonymous letters of the vilest character:—and these, with the assaults in the newspapers, only confirmed me in the conviction that I was on the right side.

I have much to detail, but no time for it. The Bill, it is said, with the amendment made in Senate, will pass the House by an augmented majority.

Truly Yrs

G. M. DALLAS.

28 July '46.

GENTLEMEN,

The only duty assigned to me by the Constitution, that of presiding in the Senate of the United States, will prevent my accepting your invitation to unite with the Democrats of

the City of Philadelphia in their celebration of the thirtieth anniversary of the Battle of New Orleans.

Our Country has rarely been placed under circumstances so propitious as the present for a commemoration of the character and services of Andrew Jackson. He is but recently deceased, and our hearts are yet warm and full with grateful remembrances. He has been succeeded in the Presidential Office by a statesman long his friend and favorite, whom the democracy chose as the agent of their restored ascendancy. And the times are teeming with incidents of foreign and domestic policy, of a nature to invoke almost irresistibly, in every patriotic heart, an appeal to *his* great principles of action and to the safe authority of *his* example. The Eighth of January comes when the lessons of its hero's life bear emphatic application, and may, for the common security and honor, be at once reduced to practice. Is it not well, is it not wise, to imitate one who invariably succeeded, and whose success always achieved something for the renown of the nation or for the freedom and happiness of the American masses? Is it not well and wise, as we offer our tributes to his memory, to ask ourselves, on each of the great political questions for solution by the Country, how would Jackson have acted?—how would Jackson have decided? Are we invited to the construction of a fresh and more equal scheme for raising revenue to defray the cost of economical and just government: *What would* HE *have done?* Are we asked to establish a safe and independent depository of the people's contributions: *Would* HE, *or would* HE *not have* inculcated *a Constitutional Treasury?* Above all, is there an enquiry as to right and honor—territorial right and public honor—*Where would* HE *have planted his foot?* how would he have treated an arrogant demand of our soil, accompanied by a bustle of meditated coercion? Rely upon it that simple tests like these, while they prove the sincerity of our celebration, easily unravel the meshes of sophistical and timid policy, and preserve to our institutions the salutary influence of an approved spirit.

Permit me to offer you the following toast:

Jackson's munificent and exhaustless legacy to the American People:—His example!

I am faithfully your fellow-citizen and friend,

G. M. DALLAS.

3 January 1848.

To HENRY M. PHILLIPS,
JOHN K. KANE,
D. C. SKERRETT,
DAVID H. TUCKER, &
WM. J. LEIPER
} Committee.

MY DEAR SIR:

The controversy between Mr. Ingersoll and Mr. Webster has produced considerable excitement, and will be followed by grave results. You may rest assured that evidence of a conclusive character exists, has been examined, and must be produced, quite strong enough to establish the gist of Mr. Ingersoll's charges, if not every one of their particulars. This evidence, I have been told, to my sincere regret, involves a much better man than Mr. W. General solicitude is felt to shield him, if possible, but, I fear, a thorough disclosure, strike whom it may, has become unavoidable.

In the course of Mr. Dickinson's reply to Mr. Webster, I decided two points of order, about one of which I perceive there exists a slight tho' not very important misapprehension. It may be well, however, that I should let you understand both, exactly as they occurred:

Mr. Dickinson rose to reply to the violently abusive and personal speech of Mr. Webster and in the course of the second or third sentence said "that he would not imitate the example set him, by using language wholly improper on the floor of the Senate, and unusual among gentlemen." *Mr. Mangum:* "Order,—I call the Senator to order!" *The President:* "The Senator from New York will take his seat: the Senator from North Carolina will reduce to writing the exceptionable words, agreeably to the rule of the Senate."—A momentary pause, Mr. Mangum doing nothing—*The President:* "Don't the Senator from North Carolina perse-

vere in raising the question of Order?" *Mangum:* "No. I do not want myself to raise a question of order. I should hope that the presiding officer would raise it." *The President:* "The Senator from New York will proceed."

Altho' I am not aware that this decision has been censured, yet, that you may see its absolute justice, I transcribe for you the 7th *Rule* of the Senate:—"If the member be called to order by a Senator for words spoken, the exceptional words shall immediately be taken down in writing, that the President may be better enabled to judge of the matter."

After an animated review of the incidents which preceded the negotiation with Lord Ashburton, Mr. Dickinson came to comment on what, agreeably to its misprinted date, (misprinted in the reported speech of Mr. Webster the day before) was the *first* written communication between the negotiators. It was a letter from Mr. Webster to Lord Ashburton, of the 11th (17th) of March 1842. He exclaimed after reading this letter, "Why did the Secretary thus early volunteer to sustain British interests?" *Mr. Webster* as if he had caught the expressions imperfectly—"What's that! what did the Senator say? will the gentleman repeat that remark?"—*Dickinson:* "I probably may, and I probably may not." *Webster:* "I call upon the Senator to repeat what he said?" *Dickinson:* "Did not the Senator hear what I said? This matter of courtesy, the Senator must be aware, has two sides to it: I can cheerfully return it when it is shown to me." *Webster:* "I call for a repetition of the remark, with a view to raise a question of order."—*The President:* "The Senator from Massachusetts has perhaps not observed that the remarks of the Senator from New York were applied to the official letter of the Secretary of State of 1842, and not to the Senator from Massachusetts of 1846." *Mr. Webster:* "But surely, Sir, such a distinction should hardly be sustained in the present case!" *The President:* "The presiding officer is quite convinced that the distinction must be sustained." *Webster:* seating himself—"Well, Sir, I submit."

Now, you must know, that I have been highly complimented by a number of Senators for the manner as well as matter of this decision; and am therefore a little disposed to prevent its being misrepresented. Gen[l] Cass, (who, I agree, is not very impartial in matters concerning Mr. Webster) told me that it was the most beautiful mixture of sagacity and firmness he had ever seen in a presiding officer. (Don't laugh at my conceit, when I am only confiding facts to you!) The distinction had not struck him, but when mentioned by me, it was conclusive. *My* only astonishment is that it could escape the notice of any man who has the least regard for the freedom of debate. When the conduct and papers of any Secretary of State, past or present, cannot be canvassed, discussion of executive measures will be at an end. The Secretary had, in fact, passed into History: that *the man* was present as a *Senator* was not a circumstance which could not be noticed. Observe that it was perfectly competent to Mr. Webster to appeal from my decision, if he conceived the distinction on which it was founded to be unjust or erroneous; but he did no such thing. This remark is also applicable to the case of Mr. Mangum.

Since failing to find in these decisions any plausible ground for finding fault, Mr. Mangum has gone back to my permitting Mr. Webster to assail Mr. Ingersoll, and thinks me wrong there. Well! I would rather err in permitting a political adversary to speak than in checking him. But the truth is I was entirely right; and the Senators who think otherwise put *themselves* in the wrong for not having called him to order. Mr. Webster knew perfectly that it was not in order for him to refer to what had been said in debate in the other House, and, therefore, he founded his right to animadvert upon the speech of Mr. Ingersoll on the fact that Mr. Dickinson had referred to its statements and had published his remarks with extracts from it. Now the ground assumed by Mr. Webster struck me at once as prima facie correct: and whether, if carefully sifted, it would prove to be otherwise, was a matter which Senators might by objecting, bring into debate, but which it would be arbitrary and

dangerous in me hastily to decide. My rule is to wait for a Senator to call to order unless the departure be obvious and liable to interrupt the course of business. Mr. Calhoun, in his celebrated essays under the signature of Onslow, denied the right of the Vice-President as he was one himself at the time—to call a Senator to order at all:—and never would do it. He went upon the ground of the Constitution and the peculiar relations of the Vice-President to the Senate.

I think the word "*preside*" used in the Constitution imports something more than Mr. Calhoun ascribes to it: but I am inclined to the opinion that his general reasoning as to the restricted character of the powers vested in the Vice-President as President of the Senate, is sound and salutary, and certainly if he be restricted by the Constitution, the rules of the Senate cannot relieve him from the restrictions. I was told early in the session—in the affair of the Committees—that I could not be trusted with power, because I was irresponsible on and independent of the Senate: now, forsooth, that fault may be plausibly imputed, I am said to have an authority far transcending any constitutional grant, by exercising which I might effectually destroy the freedom of debate and practically silence every Senator! Hot and cold!

My unalterable determination is not to allow party to warp my judgment a hair's breadth as presiding officer: and I am absolutely sure of being able to carry this determination into execution. No doubt, I shall make a great many mistakes. A powerful thinker and speaker, like Mr. Webster, carefully preparing his views in advance, may mislead any one who hears the topic for the first time, and is called upon to act instantly: but I defy a thousand Websters to make me dishonest or to alarm me out of my known duty. As to my political friends, when they ask me to do wrong, I quit them peremptorily. I have too many children to look in the face, to be able to spare a spark of my integrity.

There are a few Whigs whose estimation I value highly.

Foremost among them is my old and tried and true friend Josiah Randall. Show him this letter in confidence.

Truly & resp Yrs.
G. M. DALLAS.
12 April 1848.

MY DEAR SIR,

Your commission, as to the Globe, was attended to on the morning I received your letter.

There is a perfect fog in politics. No man, whig or democrat, knows what is coming, or in what direction the ship is to be steered. My firm conviction is that she will be put on the ultra whig tack, and her rudder lashed down. Clay & Crittenden, and Webster and Lawrence, with their respective tails, are waging exterminating war. Clayton is trying hard to jockey my friend Randall. There will be rare sport:—the more to be enjoyed by those who are out of the milée.

I begin to fear that Calhoun has again got the crotchet of disunion—of Southern independence—into his head. He seems convinced that there is but one part of the world, the South:—that the South is South Carolina:—that South Carolina is united in his person: and that the Wilmot Proviso will certainly give him an opportunity to place himself at the head of a Separate Confederacy. He may be right. I should like to know whether any one now-a-days can predicate consistency, fidelity, or patriotism, of the South? Set it down, at all events, that the Wilmot Proviso will pass, and that Col. Polk will *not* veto it.

Truly Yrs.
G. M. DALLAS.
16 Dec. '48.

LONDON 10 Aug. '59.

MY DEAR SIR:

Very many thanks for your letter of the 24th July. It posted me up on all points, leaving nothing untouched. When you come away from home, you will learn to feel the great value of such a letter.

I do not place much confidence in the present pacific appearance of things. To me it has all along seemed that events were steadily following in the order assigned to them by the profound sagacity and inflexible purpose of the French Emperor. It is so long since, when banished, he wrote his programme for the throne which he never doubted he would reach, that people have lost sight of it, and are surprised at each fresh feature of its development. Since the coup d'état, he has held the reins of the European chariot, has driven it with wonderful skill in the premeditated track, and, at every stage of progress, pauses just long enough to let his coursers take breath, and let the world score another barrier put behind them. Eclipsing all his Generals, he is vastly greater as a statesman. His plans, like partridges, are perfected before they are hatched, and, the instant he cracks their shell, run straight to their destination. He is the more formidable, too, by invariably exhibiting a moderation which stops in mid volley, or which, like the Eagle, suffers little birds to sing, as soon as he has made them little. You will hardly believe me when I tell you that many even of these sturdy islanders do not look upon his reaching London with 200,000 men, as worse to them than the loss of Lombardy to Austria: he is forbearing, not cruel or extortionate! Well! will he bridge the Channel and avenge St. Helena? If he lives, certainly. How soon? *That* I have not a doubt, he could tell you at this moment with exactness: but no other man can, or need conjecture. Like Death, he is "a necessary end and will come when he will come." Science has unwittingly played into the hands of despotism:—her modern improvements in steam transport, electrical communication, and far-reaching artillery, manipulated by Napoleon, are thunder both in the grasp of another Jove, which even the Giants can't withstand.

You are exercised with the wrangle & prospects of our good old party, and tell me that the weather can as easily be foretold as the result of the Charleston Convention. That is true. Clouds and thunder always precede our nomina-

tions, and we can't say whether we are to have rain, or hail, or snow. But, then, fall which may, the clouds always rapidly disperse, the thunder dies away in distant murmurs, and the Sun of good feeling, invigorating warmth, and shining hope, breaks out upon us. As heretofore, so now Be our Candidate whom you please, he at once is the representative of the democracy. That's enough for all who follow and are faithful to principle. Personal specialties are "all right" *before* choice:—but *after*, they are not merely wrong, they are absurd. Name whom they please at Charleston out of the list you mention, the party will hive about him as the Queen bee; and I think it is becoming daily more and more obvious that they will carry him. I can see nothing yet that ought to disturb the equanimity of the party, nothing upon which a split could be plausibly excused. You say Mr. B. will not be a candidate under any circumstances. Perhaps not, if he were at liberty to do as he likes. The Spanish Inquisitors never invented a chair of such torture as the one into which we jubilate in slamming our President. That he must loathe it, is very likely. But what say those who elected him in '56?—his present national "entourage"? the party at large? Do you think him at liberty to repel their re-summons? I do not. In Pittsburg the Post gives him a distant and distinct warning that he is not free to run below at the height of the storm. If that should become a general sentiment, Mr. B. whose heart-sick longing for Wheatland I can fully appreciate, has no alternative, and he will stand at all events the Charleston Purgatory.

It was a strange exhibition at the last session of Congress which shewed our Iron and Coal men urging a return to the Casting-Vote Tariff of '46. That of '57 was ill-timed and perhaps too low:—even upon the exclusive principle of revenue:—but that in so short a period as eleven years, the tarred-and-feathered-and-hung-in-effigy one of '46 should become the rallying-point—the "quadrilatre" as it were, of former foes, was hardly to be expected. On this subject, by the by, let me communicate a great fact which comes

direct from Paris. On Sunday last, the 7th instant, his Imperial Majesty announced to his loving subjects, by a "projet de loi," a measure of amelioration and peace, which will eclipse in all future time the lustre of Magenta and Solferino. He has opened France to the free importation of coal, iron, cotton, wool, and potter's clay! Here's a market for you! Don't investigate Napoleonic reasons, but accept the fact, fill up your craft at Richmond depot, and ho! for France! . . .

Always faithfully Yours

G. M. DALLAS.

NARRATIVE OF JOHN HECKEWELDER'S JOURNEY TO THE WABASH IN 1792.

[In the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania is a copy of a scarce work: "Johann Heckewälder's Reise von Bethlehem in Pensilvania bis zum Wabash Fluss im Nordwestlichen Gebiet der Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika. Mit Anmerkungen herausgegeben von M. C. Sprengel," printed at Halle, 1797, which we have had translated by Miss Clara Frueauff. The original manuscript journal is in the possession of his grandson, Mr. Henry B. Luckenbach, of Bethlehem. The annotations in brackets are by the ED. PENNA. MAG.]

The government of the free states of America for some time endeavored to make known to the hostile savages, dwelling on the Northwest bank of the Ohio, that it in no wise desired to wage a bloody war with them, but on the contrary were ready and willing to make a peace which should in every respect be in accordance with the laws of justice and humanity. With this purpose in view messengers of peace were sent to them in four different ways, for the government confidently believed that the savages would consent to a treaty, and designate a place where the negotiations might be made. The commission was given to Gen. Putnam,[1] who was to travel there. He was authorized to conclude a treaty with those Indians and as many other Nations, as might be found willing to make peace. Needing an assistant I was chosen, and a special messenger from the Secretary of War brought me a written proposal, dated May 18th 1792.[2] I laid this paper before the Elders of the congrega-

[1] [For a memoir of General Rufus Putnam, see Dr. Hildreth's "Early Pioneer Settlers of Ohio," etc.]

[2] [(Private & Confidential.)

WAR DEPARTMENT
18 May 1792

SIR.

I have the honor to inform you that the United States have for some time past, been making pacific overtures to the hostile Indians north west of the Ohio. It is to be expected that these overtures will soon be brought to an issue under the direction of Brigadier General Putnam of Marietta, who is specially charged with this business.

tion, and with their consent and best wishes,[1] I left Bethlehem May 26th.[2] On the 27th I lodged in Hebron[3] with Br. P[eter] visited with him some of the Brethren in Lebanon, also Mr Robert Hare who had just arrived from Philadelphia. In Carlisle on the 29th I visited Major Alexander, Mr Butler and some other friends, and spent the night in Shippen town. At the foot of the Blue Mountains, where four years ago there was but a single farm-house, I now found, to my great surprise, a pretty little town of about 30 well built, two-story houses, called Strasburg.[4] Here I was joined by a travelling companion whose appearance did not please

He is now in this city, & will be in readiness to set out on Monday next; & being acquainted with you, he is extremely desirous that you should accompany him in the prosecution of this good work.

Being myself most cordially impressed with a respect for your character & love of the Indians, on the purest principles of justice and humanity, I have cheerfully acquiesced in the desire of General Putnam.

I hope sincerely it may be convenient for you to accompany, or to follow him soon, in order to execute a business which is not unpromising, & which if accomplished, will redound to the credit of the Individuals who perform it.

As to pecuniary considerations I shall arrange them satisfactorily with you.

With great respect
I am Sir,
Your most Obed Serv.
H. Knox
Secy of War

Mr. John Heckingwelder
Bethlehem.]

[1] ["This offer," he writes, "was quite unexpected to me; and when I called with the letter on the late Bishop Ettwein, and he had read it, he returned it to me with the words, 'Blessed are the peace-makers!'"]

[2] Bethlehem, one of the chief seats of the Brethren's Church in North America, is situated on the North bank of the Lehigh river (also called Lecha by the inhabitants) 53 miles from Philadelphia, latitude 40° 37′. The town was begun in 1741 by Count Zinzendorf. There are about 600 inhabitants for the most part Germans, who are engaged in manufactures of various kinds. Schöpf in the first volume of his journey through the United States describes Bethlehem in detail, page 203, etc., says that here he found the first & best inn in North America.

[3] [See Penna. Mag., Vol. X. p. 157.]

[4] [Ibid., p. 128.]

me, and whom I secretly believed to be a sharper. However I was glad to meet him before night came on, for later we met two and farther on three deserters who carried large clubs. I had been frequently warned against such people, particularly in Carlisle, where they had wished to furnish me with pistols, which however, I would not accept. I spent the night of the 31st at the house of my good friend Bonnet,[1] 4 miles beyond Bedford. Thence I travelled to Pittsburgh in company with several gentlemen from Hagerstown & Greencastle, arriving there June 3d. A report had reached the people of Laurel Hill, even on to Pittsburgh, that about 100 Indians were on this side of the Alleghany river and we heard of naught else but of flight, many even feared that Carlisle was not safe from the enemy. Here in Pittsburgh the people were more courageous, especially as a scouting party, composed partly of regular troops and partly of Indians of the Seneca Nation commanded by Lieut. Jeffers,[2] had brought two Indian scalps and several prisoners. Gen. Putnam had arrived here the day before me. He at once read his instructions to me privately and acquainted me with everything concerning the peace to be concluded with the Indians. We agreed to give a free footing to the captive Indians who had been brought here and send them to the hostile Indians with proposals for a conference. These were sent to the peaceful Chief Monsey and Cornplanter[3] in order to be forwarded by them. We were much grieved to learn afterwards from the newspapers that these messengers, of whom Capt. Snake was among the number, were murdered by the hostile Indians. I could visit only a few of my friends at this place, as I felt very much indisposed. The journey across the mountains in the great heat, together with my drinking water very frequently, were doubtless the cause of my being attacked by all the

[1] [See PENNA. MAG., Vol. X. p. 131.]

[2] [Lieutenant John Jeffers, of Connecticut, entered the army in 1789, and resigned in 1794.]

[3] Names of this description are given to the chiefs of the Indians, either by their own people or by the inhabitants of North America. Farther on a Sachem will be mentioned who was called Hedgehog.

premonitory symptoms of a bilious fever. The remedies applied by the physician here proved very effectual, and in a few days I was restored, and we were able to start on our journey on the 8th. We proceeded over land through Washington County in Pennsylvania and Ohio County in Virginia to Buffalo Creek. Washington, the county town of the first-named county, consists of about 60 well-built houses, has a fine Court-House and Prison, both built of stone. At this place we passed the night. I called on a few acquaintances and was invited to supper at Mr van Sweringen's. The good man immediately spoke of the massacre of our Indians, and threw his hands together over his head saying: "That from the lips of the murderers themselves he had heard, that they had murdered them whilst they were praying, singing and kissing."[1] He expressed himself not surprised that our expeditions against the Indians proved a failure, as he thought there was a crime resting upon the land, which must be atoned for, etc. On the 9th we journeyed on, and in the evening reached the mouth of the Buffalo Creek in Virginia. A new town, consisting of about 20 well-built houses had been begun here, within the last four years. It is engaged in quite an extensive trade down the Ohio, and is called Charlestown. The building-lots, which are ¾ acre in size, vary in price, from 7 shillings 6 pence, to 10 shillings, from which yearly interest must be paid. Our land journey was now at an end and our horses were entrusted to a rich farmer of the neighborhood for forage. In company with three gentlemen from Marietta we continued our journey in a barge brought here for our use, by a detachment of soldiers.[2] At 10 o'clock in the morning we breakfasted in Wheeling, where a town has also been laid out and many lots sold. Mr

[1] [For an account of the massacre of Moravian Indians at Gnadenhütten, Ohio, in 1782, see "Life and Times of David Zeisberger," by Bishop E. de Schweinitz, pp. 537–57.]

[2] [Hildreth states: "It was built in the spring, of about twenty-five tons burthen, rowed with twelve oars, . . . was constructed at 'Farmer's Castle,' by Capt. J. Devoll, of red cedar."]

Ebenezer Zane, owner of the land, sells the ground belonging to each lot, consisting of ¾ acre, from $25 to $50, but without ground rent. During our stay, Mr McMahon[1] (now Major of the Second Legion) returned from an excursion into the land of the savages. He gave me a very circumstantial description of our settlements along the Muskingum[2] and related how he had found the meeting-place of three warlike Nations, between Gnadenhütten & Schönbrunn, near the mouth of the Gekelemukpechunk Creek.[3] Three tall painted war-posts had been erected there, and there were three large distinct encampments. In the evening we reached Martin's station where thirteen large dogs were

[1] [William McMahon, of Virginia, who was killed 30th June, 1794, in the repulse of the Indians at Fort Recovery.]

[2] In the vicinity of this western river which rises in the southern part of Lake Erie, and finally empties into the Ohio, the Brethren's Church had begun as early as 1772 three Christian colonies, viz. the above-mentioned Gnadenhütten, together with Schönbrunn and Salem. The untiring efforts of the Brethren were instrumental in the conversion of many of the neighboring Indians, who were admitted into their communion. Their teachings were favorably received by many of the tribes and their labors exerted a visible influence over the Indians living near them. During the last American war, the English won over to them almost all the wild tribes living along the western boundaries of the Free States, in what was then Southern Canada. Only the new converts, in association with the Brethren, whose lands were greatly devastated by the incursions of the Indians, would not acknowledge the war with the North Americans. For this reason the Mission was looked upon with suspicion, as well by the hostile Indians as by the English commander at Detroit on Lake Erie, both believing the enterprise to be undertaken in a party spirit in favor of the new Free States. Owing to this state of feeling in 1781, the whole Indian community was attacked in their dwellings by the wild followers of the English, the teachers were conducted back to Detroit, and all the improvements were utterly destroyed. The community did however in part return to their destroyed habitations along the Muskingum, but only in order to meet with a sadder fate. They were soon after surprised by a band of North Americans, who in cold blood murdered 96 persons and razed the dwellings to the ground. Mr Loskiel has given the detailed account of this mission and its varied experiences in his History of the evangelical Brethren's Church in North America. Part I. page 590, 685, etc.

[3] [See PENNA. MAG., Vol. X. p. 151.]

kept as protection against the Indians.[1] Early on the morning of the 11th we started off. During the afternoon we saw two hostile Indians on the banks of the river, who however soon ran away without molesting us. We reached Marietta in the evening, where the inhabitants fired a salute of six cannon shots in honor of the General's arrival. Only a week before, a man had been shot and scalped by the Indians near the Fort, and another who was with him was shot through the shoulder. A few shots were aimed at the Indian while performing the scalping operation, but he did not heed them, until he had completely removed the scalp. The minister here in his sermon on the 15th mentioned the Brethren's Missions among the heathen of this country, and remembered them in his prayers.[2] Having learned that we would make some stay here, I employed my time in visiting good friends, and examining the new improvements. I discovered that as the war had lasted since the founding of this place, the inhabitants had never been able to carry out their plans, and lived in three different fortifications,[3] situated on the points of land on both banks of the Muskingum and at Campus-Martius ¾ mile up the Muskingum. The population between these three places numbers between two and three hundred people. In addition a guard of soldiers of about sixty men commanded by a captain, several lieutenants and two scouts, is divided among the different places. The scouts receive five shillings per day from the government. Quite a number of dwellings have been built at the eastern point, and some of them display considerable taste, however the ground on which they are built does not belong to the owners of the houses. They rent annually at from $50 to $70. There are nine store houses and three inns. Two mills belong to the place, the one is worked by oxen and the other is built on boats and stands in the water. There is also a large brandy distillery here, belonging to a gentleman from Rhode Island, and near it stands a small distillery of

[1] [Now New Martinsville, Wetzel Co., W. Va.]

[2] [*Query.* Rev. Daniel Story.]

[3] [Block-houses erected for the protection of the inhabitants.]

spirits and cordial. At Campus-Martius there is a fine well, lined with bricks, between 70 and 80 feet deep. Many thousand beautiful fruit trees and white mulberries are scattered through the country. Here and there a few vineyards and vegetable gardens have already been planted. Almost every inhabitant has bee hives, and the arable land, or as the inhabitants here call the "cleared land," amounts to between 600 and 700 acres. Notwithstanding all the disturbances of war they have cultivated a large amount of Indian corn, and have sold to the head of the commissary department alone, 10,000 bushels at 2 sh. 6d (per bushel. A great many pigs are raised, which yield more than 4000 ℔ of lard. Horses are scarcely seen, because the Indians steal them from the inhabitants who therefore perform all their labor by means of oxen. A number of fine farms are situated near this place, also a grain and saw-mill but no one ventures to occupy them, because of the Indians. Besides this settlement of Marietta there are a number of dwellings of New Englanders, 15 miles higher up the Muskingum. They too have a fine grist- and saw-mill, in which latter, boards 36 inches in thickness are sawed. The inhabitants here also live in fortifications. Another colony, lying 12 to 15 miles down the Ohio, and containing about 80 inhabitants is divided into three different fortifications and guarded by a small detachment of troops and two scouts. What is most opposed to the prosperity of these New England colonies, is, their false method of dividing the land. According to their laws, the man who cultivates the land has not the least privilege greater than that of the first buyer who remains in New England. The former has lived for five years in constant fear and danger of the Indians, many have even sacrificed their lives, and yet in spite of all this, not one has succeeded in having a piece of land measured to him and received a legal title for the same, although six years ago they paid for it in cash.

Added to this are the following unfortunate circumstances: 1, The cashier of the Ohio Company [Richard] Platt, failed in New York, causing the Company to lose thereby $80,000. 2, The fixed sum of money which was

decided upon at the purchase of the land and which was to be paid in instalments on certain days, either to Congress or its treasurer, is far from being paid. Congress in its last Session has therefore resolved that the Ohio Company is not to receive the amount of land for which they made the contract, but only so much as the money which has been paid will cover, according to the price appointed. By this means all the honest and poor people who have paid their agents the whole sum for their share in the apportioned land will be the losers. The agents have speculated with part of the money, and used the rest for other purposes. The loss on every share, or in every 1500 acres, amounts to 350 acres. Gen. Tupper[1] who had died the day before, was buried on the 17th. In consideration of the four different offices which he held, firstly as General in the service of the United States in the late war; secondly as member of the Cincinnati order; thirdly as director of the Ohio Company; and fourthly as Master among the Freemasons, therefore because of these positions, great honors were shown his remains at the funeral. I will mention what was most remarkable to me. After a company of soldiers had arrived with drum and fife from Campus Martius, and all the Freemasons had gathered, the latter entered the house of the deceased where the remains lay. They stayed for about half an hour during which time a guard had been placed at the doors of the house. When they came out, they were furnished with tools according to their different degrees. They wore leather aprons, skilfully embroidered with red, blue or green ribbons around the edge, and bearing the design of a square and compass in the centre. A few wore only a clean white leather apron. Two men with drawn swords placed themselves on both sides of the door through which the body was to be taken, and when at last it was brought forward and placed in the Square, the Masons gathered around it, and those with swords stood between it and the people so that no one could draw too near. There was a lid with hinges

[1] [For memoir of General Benjamin Tupper, see Hildreth's "Early Pioneer Settlers of Ohio," etc.]

at the head of the coffin which could be opened. On the coffin were laid: first, an open Bible with square and compass; second, a costly sword in a black sheath, lined with red velvet; third, four black boxes, about 10 inches square; fifth, green bushes or asparagus greens. On the 4 boxes, two at the head and two at the feet, his four written commissions were laid. On each side of the coffin stood a Mason holding a well turned column of walnut wood in his hand and at the foot another with a measuring lathe about 10 feet long. Others stood in different places holding wooden hammers. Some of the Masons wore red, others blue ribbons fastened at the breast. Two of them stood with long, round, beautifully carved wands in their hands, to which a blue ribbon was fastened at the top. Two others held finely carved candlesticks, two and a half feet long, containing white wax candles, at least two inches in diameter. All these arrangements having been completed, the clergyman, who was also a Mason, offered up a prayer, of which however I could understand but little as he spoke in a very low tone. A very mournful dirge was then sung, and the order of the procession called out. Hereupon the coffin was closed and every Mason broke off a little branch of the greens which lay upon it, and stuck it in his coat. The Bible with the square and compass, the pocketbook, the four black boxes with the papers resting on them, and the sword, were now carefully lifted up, and carried by as many men, as were necessary, and also the coffin, which had been covered by a large white cloth. The soldiers who had stood in double rank from the gates during the whole of the ceremony with stacked bayonets were now in part stationed by their corporal where the procession passed. After the other part had performed various evolutions before their officer, the drums were muffled and covered with a black cloth, and at a given signal they marched off, while a funeral march was being played. The Masons who had not been occupied with the care of the remains marched behind them, hand in hand, two and two. These were followed by those carrying hammers, measuring lathes, the two round wands, columns etc.,

and finally came the clergyman, and behind him a man carrying the open Bible with both hands, and four men, each carrying a black box. The coffin now followed, the Master walking beside it, and the mourners behind him. As they neared the grave, the soldiers who stood in double file approached it, went through a military drill, and then retired. Hereupon the Masons drew near to the grave, and after a given signal knelt down around it. The clergyman then said: "Lord! now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace" etc. He pronounced several passages from the Scriptures applicable to the servants of God and closed with the words: "After labor sweet is rest." The Masons then arose and threw their green twigs on the coffin, and the grave was immediately filled up. The guards of the different stations were now relieved, and all returned in the former order, the Masons reassembling in the house, for the closing exercises.

On the 15th I went to Williamsburg in Virginia, a town situated directly opposite the Muskingum and beyond the Ohio. I there visited Mr [Isaac] Williams.

Two large armed boats with two canoes arrived on the evening of the 27th containing more than 100 men. They came from Fort Washington[1] and next morning proceeded on their journey to Pittsburgh. The passengers of these boats were Col. Hodgdon, former Quartermaster,[2] and Gen. [James] Wilkinson's wife with her three sons, who she was taking to Philadelphia to school.

The Freemasons celebrated the 24th (St. John's Day) according to their custom. They held several private meetings, and had a public dinner in an arbor, to which I was invited with other guests. The Master explained the signification of the large burning wax candles on the table, to the guests in this manner; he said they were not placed there because we could not see without them but because of the Scripture injunction: "Let your light shine before men."

[1] [Cincinnati.]

[2] [Samuel Hodgdon, of Pennsylvania, was appointed quartermaster of the army 4th March, 1791, and superseded 19th April, 1792.]

(To be continued.)

DIARY OF THE HON. WILLIAM ELLERY, OF RHODE ISLAND, JUNE 28–JULY 23, 1778.

CONTRIBUTED BY MISS HENRIETTA C. ELLERY, NEWPORT, R. I.

Sat out from Yorktown June 28th, 1778, for Philadelphia in my way to Dighton, in Company, with the Honble Houston, Gerry, Dana, Delegates of Massachusetts Bay. Dined at Major Finnies about 15 miles from Yorktown, very well. From thence to McCall's Ferry on Susquahanna is about 9 miles. We took this route because the road was better than through Lancaster, and because we expected the Inns on that Road, as Congress had adjourned, and were on their way to Philadelphia, were crowded.

Lodged at McLaughan's, about 2½ Miles from the Ferry. The house is very indifferent; but the housekeeping was very good. He is a staunch Irish true blue Presbyterian. There is a large Parish of that Denomination of Christians in this Quarter, and a very decent Meeting-house, and they are all warm Whigs.

June 29th.—From thence to Warneck's where we breakfasted is 12 miles;—the weather was extreme hot, and we drank our Coffee under the shady trees near the house. Were very civilly treated. From Warneck's to Richie's is 7 miles. Here we dined and were entertained very agreeably. Mr. Richie's wife's sister who kept the house in the absence of her Sister, hath an Austrian Lip so much like one I had seen before.

30th.—From thence to Newark where we lodged at . . . is 13 miles. Here is good entertainment for Man and horses. To Wilmington is 12 miles.—Here at Brinton's we breakfasted and dined elegantly; the Weather very hot. Sat off at 5 o'clock. From thence to Carlin's [Kerlin's] in

Chester, is 13 miles. Here we found good Cyder, good lodging and good housekeeping. To Philadelphia is 15 miles, where I put up at my good friend's William Redwood. From Derby to Schuylkill, the Fencing was destroyed and the fields lay entirely open; but as the stock had been removed by the owners or taken by the enemy, the grass was luxuriant. As I passed the Schuylkill, the naked Chimnies of destroyed houses on my left expressed in emphatick language the barbarity of the British Officers and Soldiery. The City however was in a much better state than I expected to have found it. At Chester heard the glorious news of the defeat of Gen[l] Clinton at Monmouth. I lodged in Philadelphia with my friend William Redwood and continued in Philadelphia until the 10th of July, when I sat out for Dighton in company with him. The glorious fourth of July, I celebrated in the City Tavern with Brother Delegates of Congress and a number of other Gentlemen, amounting in the whole to about 80,—the anniversary of Independency. The entertainment was elegant and well conducted. There were four Tables spread, two of them extended the whole length of the Room, the other two crossed them at right angles. At the end of the Room opposite the upper Table, was erected an Orchestra. At the head of the upper table and at the President's right hand stood a large baked Pudding, in the centre of which was planted a Staff on which was displayed a crimson Flag, in the midst of which was this emblematic device: An eye, denoting Providence, a Label in which was inscribed an appeal to heaven; a man with a drawn sword in one hand, and in the other the Declaration of Independency, and at his feet a scroll inscribed "The declaratory acts." As soon as the Dinner began, the Musick consisting of Clarinets, Haut-boys, French horns, Violins and Bass Viols, opened and continued making proper pauses until it was finished. Then the Toasts followed each by a discharge of Field-pieces, were drank, and so the afternoon ended. In the evening there was a cold collation and a brilliant exhibition of Fireworks. The Street was crowded with People during

this exhibition. In the afternoon a strumpet, I suppose, with a head-dress in imitation of those worn by the Tory Ladies while the British Army held the City, was paraded thro' the Streets attended by a crowd of the vulgar. What a strange vicissitude in human affairs! These, but a few years since, colonies of Britain, are now free, sovereign and independent States, and now celebrate the anniversary of their Independence in the very city where but a day or two before Gen[l] Howe exhibited his ridiculous Champhaitre!

July 10*th.*—Left Philadelphia at five o'clock P.M. in company with my worthy friend William Redwood, and rode to William Rodman's at Ben-Salem, where we lodged. The next day dined in Trenton at William's Sign of the Green Tree, very well.—The weather extreme hot. Sat off for Princeton at 5 o'clock, passed through Maidenhead and arrived at Princeton in the evening, just before a violent thunder-gust. Lodged at Col. [Jacob] Hyer's, a little North of the College. The weather was very hot in the evening. The Gust bro't the Wind to the North and cooled the air. The next morning overtook Gen[l] Wolcott, Mr Huntington and a young Mr Gardner, son of Capt Gardner of Salem, and joined their company. Breakfasted at Somerset Court house very well, about 14 miles from Princeton. Dined at Aning's Barnet Township 13 miles; and reached Lambert's about 1½ miles beyond the compact part of Morristown, in the evening, and lodged there. The Beds were filled with Bugs, which fell upon me with such fury as to drive me from my bed. I dressed, sat at the table some time, then took to the floor, and so partly in bed, partly at the table, and partly on the floor, passed a very uncomfortable night. This day was cool and pleasant.

13*th.*—Breakfasted at Pacquanock at one Boramus's, on Tea without sugar; but the Biscuit and butter were fine—between this and the forementioned town is Bentown. Dined at Pumpton 13 miles from Pacquanock, and lodged at Prammapo at one Hopper's, a private house. This day also was cool and pleasant.

14*th.*—Breakfasted at Squire Coe's at a place called

Cakeat, and fared well. This is the first Stage in New York, from thence to King's Ferry is 8½ miles. The left Wing of the main Army was at the Ferry, the Center about 12 miles below, and the right still further off. The Center was to be at the Ferry this day. We had a pleasant passage over in a large flat bottomed boat rowed with four Oars,—the ferry about 1¼ miles wide, Stopped at Peeks Kill about 3½ miles, from thence to Carman's at Crumpond is 6½ miles. Here we put up early, and had a most excellent Supper, and Lodging.

15*th.*—From thence to Lockwood's, Courtland Manor, where we breakfasted is 12 miles. There is a better Tavern about a mile and a half farther on. We baited at Honeywell's about 2½ miles from Lockwood's, not having been able to get any Oats, nor any Grain for our horses since the morning of the preceeding day. From thence I rode to Dibble's in Danbury, about 11 miles, where I dined. Mr Redwood and the other Gentlemen stopped about five miles short of Danbury, at a house, as I imagined to get a drink of milk and water: I was ahead about 50 rods at the bottom of a hill. They hailed me. I returned the hail and moved slowly on hoping they would follow; but they chose to dine there it seems; and as we had bated our horses fully about 6 miles back, and this would make two stops in the distance of about 8 miles, and as I wished to reach Newtown at Night I advanced.

16*th.*—From Danbury to Chandler's, Newton where we breakfasted is 10 miles. From thence to De Forest's where we dined, and were regaled with fine Cherries and Currant Punch, is 10 miles. De Forest is a staunch Whig and keeps a good House. About 2 miles on this Side Dibble's, in passing a causeway my companion's horse stepped off and plunged to his belly in a slough. In attempting to get out he threw his rider on the causeway, and so being lightened, at a second effort he escaped; but cast in his struggles, upon his rider, who had just removed his legs, such a quantity of mud as bespattered him plentifully from head to foot. *Admissi risum teneatis amici.* Dr Slop was not more

bespattered when Patriot in his circumgyrations from his broad hoofs almost suffocated that Son of Æsculapius. From De Forest's to Beecher's in Amity, a parish of New Haven, is 12 miles. Here we lodged; W. E. in the foulest bed he ever saw, and the fullest of Bugs! From Beecher's to New Haven is 5 miles; here we breakfasted.

17*th.*—After breakfast I visited my worthy friend and quondam pastor Dr Stiles, who had lately been inaugurated and inducted President of Yale College. He received me with great satisfaction and kindness, and rode with us to Baldwin's in Brandford, about 6 miles from New Haven, where we dined in company. After dinner we parted. I found that he and his children had still an affection for Newport; but this will lessen as he and they form connections in New Haven. I wish we may when we shall return to Newport, be blessed with as worthy a pastor as he was. Stone's in Guilford is 9 miles where we lodged. W. E. on the floor, Bugs in great plenty.

18*th.*—From thence to Killingsworth is 10 miles. Here we had a most excellent breakfast. The Bread, Biscuit, Butter, Gingerbread, Sugar, Tea, Milk, everything was excellent in its kind. Dudley's in Seabrook is 10 miles. Here we dined very well, and from thence to Champlin's in Lyme is 12 miles, where we lodged in clean beds, free from Bugs, and our horses were well entertained.

19*th.*—This house is not in high reputation, because perhaps it is old, and may not furnish such good Provisions as some taverns, but that a traveller ought to esteem the best house which affords the best lodging and the best entertainment for horses. We breakfasted at Dudley's, New London, six miles from Champlins; crossed the river and baited at Belton's, about 4 miles from the ferry, and dined at Dennison's just by Mystic bridge in Stonington, and near five miles from Belton's. We dined very well and drank a bowl of punch, made of Home's acid, which is a very good substitute for fresh Lemon or Lime juice. From thence to Mr Simon Rhodes's is about five miles. He was so kind as to invite us in and treat us with a good dish of Tea, much

talk and great civility: from thence to Thompson's, Westerly, where we lodged, is about five miles. The Beds were good, the linen clean, but the bedsteads were infested with Bugs; and I laid on the floor.

20*th.*—Breakfasted at Charlestown at Champlin's 8 miles from Thompson's. Dined at John Potter's Esq. 8 miles from Champlin's; from thence to George Champlin's at Little Rest, is about 7 miles, where I drank Tea with his good Wife, (he was from home), and put up at my old Friends & acquaintance Judge Potter. My companion was so worn down with intermitting fever, and a long Journey, that I was obliged to leave him at Judge Hoxie's in Charlestown. His indisposition rendered him but a dull companion, and my Journey uncomfortable. His patience and perseverance were indeed exemplary: but it was sometimes so irksome to me to walk my horse to keep him company mile after mile, when my wife and family, from whom I had been absent nine months, were in contemplation, that if I urged him to come on with some degree of eagerness I hope I shall be forgiven.

21*st.*—My mare's side was so wounded with the Journey, that I thought it improper to procede with her, and as I wanted a horse for immediate use I employed Hazard Potter to purchase one for me and I continued at his father's. This afternoon I paid a visit to Mrs Marchant, my Colleague's wife, and returned to the Judges in the evening.

22*nd.*—From thence the next day I rode to Providence and the next day (23rd) reached Dighton.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN WILLIAM STRAHAN AND DAVID HALL, 1763–1777.

(Continued from page 357.)

LONDON Novr. 15. 1770.

DEAR DAVIE

I wrote to you last Wednesday, to which I refer.

As I find the Packett is not yet sailed I just drop you a few Lines, to inclose you the King's Speech and Lords Address, and to tell you that I was in the House of Commons last Tuesday, and heard the Debates upon this Speech.—The Address was moved for by Lord Greville and seconded by Mr Rice. Those who spoke in Opposition were

1. Sir William Meredith, who objected to that part of the Address, which applauds His Majesty for resolving to continue his Preparations, and promises to enable him to defray the Expence thereof, as it had the same Effect with giving him a Vote of unlimited credit; that he was glad the Americans had renewed their Commerce with the Mother Country, but thought the Ministry had little Merit on that Account; that he should ever be as zealous for their Rights as his own, and a good deal more in favour of the Colonies.

2. Colonel Barré, who found much fault with the Name of the Governor of Buenos Ayres being made use of in the Speech as the Mighty Potentate with whom the King of Great Britain had reason to be offended; that it looked as if we meant to put an Excuse in the Mouth of the Spanish Court; that we ought to have begun our Preparations earlier, from the first of May last, when the Ministry knew the Affront had been given; and that for his Part, however People might flatter themselves that this Dispute would end in an Accommodation, *he smelt War.*—With a good deal more, in his usual virulent Way, against the Operations of the present Ministry, bewailing Lord Granby; extolling

the Conduct of Lord Chatham during the last War, & lamenting the Loss of Mr Grenville whose Abilities might have been of great Use to this time in finding Resources for the great Expenses we should now have occasion for.

3. Mr Burke, who made a long intricate Speech, much to the same purpose with Col. Barré's; adding, that whilst we made a Cry of War, we actually were negotiating for Peace under the Mediation of France.

4. Mr Dowdeswell, who made a short Speech, but said nothing particular, or very pointed.—Spoke of the Middlesex Election, and that he should make some Motions, during the course of the Session, in favour of the Subject, &c.

On the part of the Ministry, Lord Barrington answered some Charges particularly levelled at him. After which Lord North spoke to every thing that had come from the other side; said, among other Particulars, that had we begun to arm in May, the French and Spaniards would have done the same, and of course would have been in proportionable Forwardness with ourselves at this time; that the Winter Season was the best time for manning our Fleet, when our Trading Ships were homeward bound; that he hoped we were before them, in that respect, now; and that we were *not* negociating through the Mediation of France, as had been asserted, for that Great Britain could adjust its own Quarrels, and stood in need of no Mediator whatever. He concluded, that as no Person had proposed any Alteration or Addition to the Address, he should move to put the Question upon it, which was done, and it past without a Division.

In the House of Lords, there was only a short Debate, I hear; tho' the Marquis of Rockingham and the Duke of Richmond both spoke for some time; but I do not find they offered any thing new.

George Grenville died that very Morning. It is not yet clear what Turn Affairs will take. From all I can learn, tho' it is *very possible* this Misunderstanding may end in War during the Course of next Summer, yet I still think it *more probable* that it will terminate peaceably, for the

Reasons formerly given.—The better we are prepared for War, however, the more likely are we to secure Peace. I am, as ever Dear Davie

Most affectionately Yours

WILL: STRAHAN.

LONDON December 8 1770.

DEAR DAVIE

I have this Moment received yours of Octr 20 viâ Bristol, by Capt Forlin, inclosing a bill on Messrs Meyrick and Porter for £330. and yesterday I received from Messrs Parr and Bulkeley another Bill on your Acc^{t} for £330, but as the Gentleman on whom it is drawn lives at Hackney, I cannot yet tell whether it is accepted. So that I must defer till next Packett (the Letters for this being certainly to be forwarded to night) acquainting you of both being duly accepted, which I have no doubt will be the case.

I wrote to you by the last Packett twice, Novr 7th and 15th in the first of which I acknowledged the Receit of yours of Sepr 15th by Feares; but the other you mention of Sepr 29th by the London Packett, Cook, hath not yet come to hand. I suppose there was nothing particular in it, or perhaps it was only a Duplicate of the former.

I am very sorry to find you and your Family were so much indisposed when you wrote last. I hope to have better Accounts in your next. Poor Mrs Hall hath suffered much for Years past; but I think I never heard you complain of want of Health before. I shall be glad to hear you are all restored again. Be particular on this head; and if you do not get quite well before Spring, what think you of a Trip to your Native Air?—If this is thought necessary for your Health, no Business, however urgent, should stand in the way.

In Politicks nothing new.—As I have now the Liberty of the House of Commons *ex-officio*, I have been present at all the Principal Debates this Session, viz. Novr 22^{d} on the Motion for laying before the House the Spanish Papers—27th On the Motion for enquiring into the Power of the Attorney General.—29th On the Voting 40,000 Seamen for

the ensuing Year;—and Decr 6 On the Motion for an Enquiry into the Conduct of the Courts of Law in Criminal Prosecutions—In all which there were many Speeches delivered which were not worth remembering, and many you will find tolerably justly given in the Papers.—In every Question the Ministry carried it against the Opposition by above two to one. And indeed all the Questions, as managed by the latter, were frivolous and absurd; calculated solely to tease and perplex the Administration, without having the least Tendency to the Publick Emolument, and very improperly consuming that Time, which ought to be employed in the real Business of the Nation.

I am sorry Charles the Vth is printing with you, as the Copy Money, which was no less than £4000, has not yet been repaid from the Sale. However, I am determined to print it in 8vo next Summer, in the 4 Six Shilling Volumes, which I hope few People will grudge to pay for a Copy of it; and I will take care that it be done elegantly and Correctly. I shall write again by next Packett. Mean while I wish you many happy Returns of the approaching Season, and lasting Health (the best of all earthly Blessings) to you and yours. I had almost forgot to tell you that I am still of Opinion our Dispute with Spain will terminate amicably, tho' many People here think otherwise. But I think I speak upon pretty sure Foundations. All my Family are pure well just now, and join in kind remembrance and best respects to you and Mrs Hall. I am always

Dear Davie

Most cordially and affectionately Yours

WILL: STRAHAN.

I shall send you a Barrel of Weak Ink by next Ship, as you desire.

To Mr DAVID HALL

Philadelphia.

By the Packett.

You will be surprized to read in the papers the Commitment to the Tower of our Ld Mayor and one of the Alder-

men. The Particulars I need not repeat to you. The Newspapers are full of them. I shall only observe that this is I hope the last Effort of an expiring but desperate Faction, to embroil this Country, and persuade a generous, a loyal, and a happy People, that they have any Evil to apprehend from the Servants of the best of Sovereigns.—The whole Mischief is the Operation of a Sett of Men in every Point of View contemptible. The Common Council of London, who make so great a Figure in this Bustle, may be thought by People at a Distance to be Men of some real Consideration. Far otherwise. They are almost to a Man low and inconsiderable, and suffer themselves to be pushed on to such Extravagant Lengths by a few Incendiaries who have now for a great while led them by the Nose. As for the Mayor, he is not much better than the lowest of them; and yet, strange to tell! these what shall I call them set their faces against the whole Legislature; but I hope and believe the House of Commons, whom they have so grossly insulted, will proceed against them with becoming Vigour. The Dispute is now brought to such a Situation that it must be decided in some Shape or another. Never was an excellent and every way unexceptionable Prince so grossly and undeservedly insulted. His only Fault is bearing so much without resenting it. But he knows full well that his People in general are innocent, and that the few who are at present misguided must soon see through the Arts of their Leaders, and return to their Duty. It is impossible, I should imagine, to convince you that every inflammatory Paragraph, and every bold and daring Essay which you have seen in our Papers for Years past, are the Manufacture of Wilkes and his Adherents alone, and Nine in Ten of them are actually paid for before they are inserted. Even the Mobs are assembled by printed Bills handed about the Streets, and some of the most daring and active hired to insult their Betters at so much a Day. This I believe will be brought home to Wilkes himself, of which you will hear more by next Packett, for the Commons before they adjourned appointed a Committee of their Number

to sit during their Recess to enquire into the Causes of the late Riots; and it is already said they have made some Discoveries of this kind.—Lord North still continues to conduct himself with Integrity, Ability and Firmness. He is not to be shaken by the Blast of popular Clamour against him, when he is conscious he hath done nothing to merit such treatment; nor will he, I venture to assure you, by a timid and ill-timed Resignation, leave his Master a Prey to the most virulent, unruly, profligate, and unprovoked Faction that ever disgraced this Country. You may possibly think I write too warmly and too positively; but depend on it, I *know* perfectly well what I am saying. I know the Futility of the Opposition in general, and of their open and secret Abettors; and as I have every Reason to think the Commons (who are now particularly attacked) as well as the Ministry will proceed with equal Spirit and Firmness, you will soon see all this Pother vanish into Smoke, to the utter Confusion of those, great and small, who have all along fomented it.

Our best Respects to your honest Wife,—I hope she is gradually recovering her Spirits. My Wife is better than when I wrote last, though far, very far, from well.

Mr Leacock may depend upon a satisfactory Answer to his Letter in a few Days.

With one thing or another I am extremely busy.—One Affair which regards your Side of the Water, I shall probably be able to tell you something of in my next; or at least in a Month or so. Meanwhile I am, with wonted Esteem and Affection,

Dear Davie
Most heartily and sincerely Yours
WILL: STRAHAN.

(Copy—Original by the Packett)

LONDON, April 4. 1771.

DEAR DAVIE

Since my last of Feby 19. I am favoured with yours of Dec. 24. by Capt. Younge, and Jany 15. by the Packett.

What you write for shall be sent in a few Days. I have also received Mr Joseph Leacock's two Letters of the 16th and 20th of January, and have already got and paid for his Order to Mr Green amounting to £29. 9. 0. It makes a pretty large Box, but not too large to put into one of your Trunks. I shall write Mr Leacock fully when I have shipped it. At present I have not time to enter into Particulars, for with Difficulty I snatch an Hour to write by this Packett.—A very little Politics, lest you should think I had forgot you.

You will be surprized, &c.

LONDON June 8. 1771.

DEAR DAVIE.

Having wrote you fully by the Packett only three Days ago, I have little to trouble you with now.—Inclosed is the Invoice and Bill of Lading mentioned in my last. You will observe, that one of the Trunks is filled with Books for the Library Company, by an Order I received from Dr Franklin, who happened to be in the Country when they were shipt; so thought it best to send them along with yours. It is one of the largest, No 2. or 3. I forget which. On opening it, you will find at Top the three Articles mentioned in the Invoice, which when you have taken out, you may shut it again, and send it to them. The Trunk itself, with their Proportion of Shipping Charges I have put to their Invoice. Their Share of Freight you will take of them yourself.—Your last Order received the other Day, I hope to be able to get ready by some of the Ships that sail the last of this, or beginning of next Month.

In answer to your Brother-in-law Mr Leacock's Letters, please to inform him, that nothing can be more agreeable to me than to be able to do any Act of Kindness to one so nearly connected with you, that I am not myself a fit Correspondent, but have recommended him to one who will do his Business properly, who writes by this Conveyance, and sends him the Samples of Potash he desires to have, together with the Prices of the various Kinds of that Com-

modity; so that I need say no more upon that Head. Inclosed is Mr Greene's Receit for his Goods, which are in one of your Trunks. I pray you to present my best Respects to Mr Leacock, and assure him he may with all Freedom command me, whenever I can be of the smallest Use to him. Most heartily do I wish that his Undertaking may prove successful;—more especially as it is adding one Article more to your Exports, which is of public Utility.

Mr Evans of Haddonsfield was to return you a few Books on my Account, to the Value of £1:16:6.—Has he done it?

Nothing else occurs to me that I can now recollect. I am to dine today with some of our Great Men, who are in the Secret of Affairs. If I learn anything among them, it shall be the subject of my next. But I really expect, at present, to hear nothing new. Every thing at home and abroad is likely to remain in a State of profound Tranquillity. By a Letter I had yesterday from Berlin, an extract of which you will see in tonight's Chronicle, Peace is likely to take place between the Turks and Russians. France remains in the same, or rather a worse Situation than I lately described to you, which ensures the Peace of this Part of Europe; So that the Subjects of the British Empire have only to attend to the Improvement of their Manufactures and Commerce; and quietly, and I hope thankfully, to enjoy those Blessings which Providence hath so liberally bestowed upon them; greatly superior to those of any other Nation, antient or modern.

In a former Letter I hinted to you a Scheme I had suggested for the complete and cordial Union of the Colonies with the Mother Country. I will now, with my first Leisure, endeavour to put it upon Paper, in order to lay before those who have Power to put it in Execution.—If it comes to any thing, you shall hear of it again.—I wish to be useful, if I could spare a little time to attempt it; but you cannot conceive how my Attention is ingrossed not only by my own Business, which is both various and extensive, but often by that of other people, to many of whom it is impossible to refuse a Variety of little Acts of Friend-

ship, which consume many of my Hours, and of course keeps me in continual Employ.

Mr Wilkins, the Correspondent I recommend to Mr Leacock, sends the letter inclosed, which you will deliver to him. I believe Wilkins to be a very proper one, and one who will use him honestly.

We all hope to hear more comfortable Accounts of Mrs Hall, to whom I entreat you will remember us with all Affection, and to believe me, with unalterable Esteem and Attachment,

Dear Davie

Your faithful Friend and Servant

WILL STRAHAN.

I forgot to mention that the Pamplet about making Potash which Mr Leacock desired me to send him, is now out of print.

June 14th.

The vessel stays longer than I expected. However I have nothing to add, but that the Duke of Grafton's acceptance of the Privy Seal is at once a Proof that he did not resign in disgust, as was given out, and that the present Ministry will be permanent.

(To be continued.)

PHILADELPHIA SOCIETY BEFORE THE REVOLUTION.

EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS OF ALEXANDER MACKRABY TO SIR PHILIP FRANCIS, FROM MEMOIRS OF SIR PHILIP FRANCIS, K.C.B.

(Concluded from page 287.)

PHILADELPHIA, 10 August 1769.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I have yours by the May and June pacquets. . . . Your ministerial gentry will not gain their point with all their promises. The Resolvers are very steady, and have newly determined not to abate in the smallest degree till the Acts are actually repealed. By the by, we have had two or three very odd occurrences upon the subject of importations.

A discontented gentleman made a purchase of a Cheshire cheese last week; and another malcontent thought to drown his resentments in a hogshead of English Entire Butt. These delicacies happened unfortunately to be shipped from Europe after the Resolutions on this side had transpired, and in consequence Messrs. of the Committee took the liberty to interfere. The purchasers made a gallant stand in defence of their bellies, but their opposition was vain. Hard words and bad names flew about in support of Liberty. They cursed and swore, kicked and cuffed and pulled noses; but the catastrophe was, that the prisoners were regaled with one and t'other—I mean the cheese and porter—qualified with two dollars worth of bread. They sent away a ship loaded with malt today. No body could either buy or store it. . . .

Yours ever,

A. MACKRABY.

We are all panting with heat, the glass from 92° to 95° —and yet the mad people will marry in spite of it. I sleep

upon the floor for coolness, and almost perish under the weight of a single sheet.

PHILADELPHIA: 2d December 1769.

MY DEAR BROTHER,— . . . You can have no idea of the plague we have with servants on this side of the water. If you bring over a good one he is spoilt in a month. Those born in the country are insolent and extravagant. The imported Dutch are to the last degree ignorant and awkward. The Irish (upon which establishment my gentleman is) are generally thieves, and particularly drunkards; and the negroes stupid and sulky, and stink damnably. We have tried them all round, and this is the sum total of my observations, 'the devil take the hindmost.' . . .

I am ever your affectionate,

A. MACKRABY.

PHILADELPHIA 2d January 1770.

MY DEAR BROTHER,— . . . I know little of your political contests at home, but I will whisper to you, that our Americans with their resolutions have overshot the mark. . . . The stores are empty; those persons who have goods lately imported, and in the possession of the committees, are discontented, and will soon grow clamorous. Rogues are making their advantage, and the Quakers grow cold and plead conscience. Here are few manufactures to supply the deficiency of goods from Europe. None of consequence can speedily be established, and at the same time here is a people daily increasing. . . . How can it be that the longer I reside in this climate I am the more affected by its severities? The intense heat of last summer overpowered me, and the cold we have already this winter seems to exceed all recollection or idea, as well as it does all endurance. I had almost spoiled my letter with a lump of black ice, which hung from my pen just now. I am going to attend an electrical lecture. We'll try if that spark can touch me, and if it does I will dance it to a blaze at the assembly to night. I am most truly yours,

A. MACKRABY.

PHILADELPHIA, 10 March 1770.

DEAR BROTHER,— . . . Have you repealed our Acts yet? I wish you had, for we want goods most confoundedly. This is too cold a season for any bold stroke on this side of the water. They have only a Captain Macdongall prisoner at New York for libellous productions. He is to take his trial in about a month. The booksellers are publishing copies of the trial of one Zenger at New York, many years ago, for such another affair; on which occasion the father of Governor Hamilton gained amazing honour by his pleadings in defence of the liberty of the press. But *Junius* is the Mars of malcontents. His letter to the King is past all endurance, as well as all compare.

PHILADELPHIA, 24 April 1770.

MY DEAREST BROTHER,— . . . Would you think that in a city with twenty thousand inhabitants we should find difficulty in collecting twenty native Englishmen to celebrate St. George's Day yesterday? And in that number there were some I had never spoken to before. We should have had the Governour at our head, but that the party was only proposed two days before. However, we met at a tavern, stuffed roast beef and plum pudding, and got drunk, *pour l'honneur de St. George;* wore crosses, and finished the evening at the play-house, where we made the people all chorous 'God save the king,' and 'Rule Britannia,' and 'Britains strike home' &c., and such like nonsense; and in short, conducted ourselves with all the decency and confusion usual on such occasions. My head aches plaguely! so pray excuse me till the next pacquet. . . .

Your everfaithful,

A. MACKRABY.

PHILADELPHIA, 4 May 1770.

MY DEAR BROTHER,— . . . I am now convinced that 'tis no easy matter to establish manufactures in America; nor have I observed a single step towards an attempt either in linens, woollens, or silk, except stockings. A scheme is

proposed here for the culture of silk, in consequence of your offered bounty at home, and it is well supported. Near a thousand pound has been subscribed in a few days, and more could, I doubt, be easily raised. The people of this city are far beyond the inhabitants of any other part of the continent in public spirit: I mean in that proper useful spirit of improvement—moderation in politics. I may be deceived, but I look to *this* as my field of action. . . .

Yours ever,

A. MACKRABY.

PHILADELPHIA, 20 June 1770.

MY DEAR BROTHER,— . . . I believe I have never told you that we have got Whitefield among us. He preaches like a dragon, curses and blesses us all in a breath, and tells us he hopes to die in the pulpit. He abuses the players, who in turn advertised to perform the Minor. The parsons petitioned the Governor against it, and the performance was dropt. . . .

A. MACKRABY.

WILLIAM PENN'S PLANS FOR A UNION OF THE COLONIES, 8TH FEBRUARY, 1696–97.

[We reprint from "Contributions to American History" (Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Vol. VI., pp. 264–65) the plan of Founder Penn for a union of the colonies. On the 15th May, 1696, the Board of Commissioners for Promoting the Trade of the Kingdom, and for inspecting and improving the plantations in America and elsewhere, was created by King William III. On the 20th August, 1696, this board made a report to the Privy Council on the state of the plantations, recommending the appointment by the king of a captain-general, who should have the command of all the king's forces and of the entire militia of the colonies, commission their officers, and employ them at his discretion, subject only to instructions from England, and should also exercise the power of governor of any of the plantations depending on the crown, while he should be present in it. On 8th February, 1696–97, William Penn presented the Board of Trade a scheme for a general union, legislative as well as executive, of all the colonies, which, as he submitted, would be useful, not only to the English crown, but "to one another's peace and safety, with an universal concurrence." The original is preserved in the State-Paper Office, London. Plantation General Entries, xxxiv., A. 102.—Ed.]

"A Briefe and Plaine Scheam how the English Colonies in the North parts of America Viz: Boston Connecticut Road Island New York New Jersey, Pensilvania, Maryland, Virginia and Carolina may be made more usefull to the Crowne, and one anothers peace and safty with an universall concurrance.

"1st. That the severall Colonies before mentioned do meet once a year, and oftener if need be, during the war, and at least once in two years in times of peace, by their Stated and appointed Deputies, to debate and resolve of such measures as are most adviseable for their better understanding, and the publick tranquility and safety.

"2. That in order to it two persons well qualified for sence sobriety and substance be appointed by each Province

as their Representatives or Deputies, which in the whole make the Congress to consist of twenty persons.

"3. That the King's Commissioners for that purpose specially appointed shall have the Chaire and preside in the said Congresse.

"4. That they shall meet as near as conveniently may be to the most centrall Colony for ease of the Deputies.

"5. Since that may in all probability, be New York both because it is near the Center of the Colonies and for that it is a Frontier and in the Kings nomination, the Govr of that Colony may therefore also be the Kings High Commissioner during the Session after the manner of Scotland.

"6. That their business shall be to hear and adjust all matters of Complaint or differences between Province and Province, As 1st where persons quit their own Province and goe to another, that they may avoid their just debts tho they be able to pay them, 2^{d} where offenders fly Justice, or Justice cannot well be had upon such offenders in the Provinces that entertaine them, 3dly to prevent or cure injuries in point of commerce, 4th, to consider of ways and means to support the union and safety of these Provinces against the publick enemies. In which Congresse the Quotas of men and charges will be much Easier, and more equally sett, then it is possible for any establishment made here to do; for the Provinces, knowing their own condition and one anothers, can debate that matter with more freedome and satisfaction and better adjust and ballance their affairs in all respects for their common safty.

"7^{ly} That in times of war the Kings High Commissioner shall be generall or Chief Commander of the severall Quotas upon service against the Common Enemy as he shall be advised, for the good and benefit of the whole."

RECORDS OF THE HILL FAMILY OF MASSACHUSETTS.

CONTRIBUTED BY CHARLES AUSTIN ROBINSON.

David Hill, son of Joseph and Phebe Hill, of Holliston, was married to Mercy Holbrook, daughter of Luke and Mercy Holbrook, of Bellingham, on the twenty-first day of April, 1785.

The dates of the births of their children and their names are as follows, viz.:

Sylvester Hill, born Wednesday, April 12, 1786.
David Hill, Jr., born Sunday, September 23, 1787.
Amos Hill, born Monday, July 6, 1789.
Artemon Hill, born Tuesday, January 23, 1792.
Solon Hill, born Tuesday, February 4, 1794.
Phebe Hill, born Wednesday, August 14, 1799.
Paulina Hill, born Friday, March 4, 1803.
Solon Hill (2d), born Wednesday, June 12, 1805.
Charles Austin Hill, born Tuesday, July 10, 1810.

Record of Deaths.

Solon Hill, son of David and Mercy Hill, departed this life February 23, 1799.

Phebe Hill, daughter of David and Mercy Hill, departed this life October 29, 1799.

Paulina Hill, daughter of David and Mercy Hill, departed this life March 17, 1806.

David Hill, husband of Mercy Hill, died November 4, 1813.

Mercy Holbrook, mother of Mercy Hill, died December 3, 1813.

Luke Holbrook, husband of the above, died November 3, 1775.

Rachel Holbrook, daughter of the last named, died November 7, 1775.

Sena Abbee, another daughter of above, died September 7, 1815.

Harriot (Fales) Hill, wife of David Hill, Jr., died August 19, 1817.

Sylvester Hill, son of David and Mercy Hill, died June 14, 1820.

Dinah Holbrook, daughter of Luke Holbrook, died January 8, 1827.

Jerusha Lethbridge, daughter of Luke Holbrook, died July 4, 1833.

Solon Hill (2d), son of David and Mercy Hill, died September 1, 1833.

Lucy Jencks, daughter of Luke Holbrook, died July 24, 1833.

Mercy Jones, relict of David Hill and daughter of Luke Holbrook, died July 28, 1841, aged seventy-three years.

David Hill, second son of David and Mercy Hill, died January 3, 1847.

Amos Hill, third son of David and Mercy Hill, died October, 1869.

Artemon Hill, fourth son of David and Mercy Hill, died February 6, 1870, at New Orleans, Louisiana.

David Hill, Jr., son of David and Mercy (Holbrook) Hill, was married to Harriot Fales, daughter of Nehemiah and Sarah (Whiting) Fales, of Dedham, Massachusetts, on the 14th day of February, 1813.

The dates of the births of their children, and their names, are as follows, viz.:

Emily, born April 23, 1814.

Caroline, born December 7, 1815.

Harriet Fales, born August 7, 1817.

Emily Hill, of Philadelphia, daughter of David, Jr., and Harriet (Fales) Hill, was married to Daniel M. Robinson, of Philadelphia, September 19, 1836. The date of the births of their children and their names are as follows, viz.:

Charles Austin Robinson, born September 18, 1837.

Alice Ada Robinson, born January 8, 1839; died May 30, 1839.

Harriet Lucretia Robinson, born May 29, 1840.

Emily Nevins Robinson, born September 28, 1841; died April 20, 1842.

Adèle Nevins Robinson, born September 28, 1841.

Edward Louis Robinson, born May 21, 1843; died January 13, 1847.

Horace Percy Robinson, born December 24, 1846; died August 10, 1878.

Charles Austin Robinson, son of Daniel M. and Emily (Hill) Robinson, of Philadelphia, was married to Deborah Blight, youngest daughter of George Waln and Mary Valeria (Sergeant) Blight, of Philadelphia, March 10, 1864.

The dates of the births of their children and their names are as follows, viz.:

George Blight Robinson, born June 27, 1865.

Charles Norris Robinson, born October 20, 1866.

Roberts Coles Robinson, born October 25, 1867.

THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION OF 1787.

Sketches of the Members of the Pennsylvania Convention.

BY WILLIAM HENRY EGLE, M.D.

(Concluded from page 275.)

Yeates, Jasper, of Lancaster County, the son of John Yeates and his wife, Elizabeth Sidbotham, was born April 9, 1745, in the city of Philadelphia. He was educated at the College of Philadelphia, studied law, and admitted to the bar October 5, 1765. Shortly after he located at Lancaster, where he rapidly secured a lucrative practice. When the war of the Revolution opened he took an active part, and was chairman of the Committee of Observation for

Lancaster County. In 1776 he was one of the commissioners appointed to hold a conference with the Indians at Fort Pitt, and through his instrumentality an interval of peace was secured for the western frontiers of the State. Throughout the war for independence he occupied a conspicuous position in every patriotic effort. He was a member of the Pennsylvania Convention to ratify the Federal Constitution, and one of the committee which reported the form of ratification. He was a strong Federalist. Under the State Constitution of 1789–91 he was commissioned by Governor Mifflin, March 21, 1791, a justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. President Washington appointed him one of the commissioners to confer with the insurgents in the so-called Whiskey Rebellion of 1794. In 1805, when politics ran exceedingly high in the State, he, with Chief Justice Shippen and Judge Thomas Smith, was impeached, tried, and acquitted, upon one of the most trivial charges which ever engaged the attention of a legislative body. He remained in office, shedding lustre upon that judicial body, until his death, which occurred at Lancaster on the 14th day of March, 1817. His remains lie interred in the graveyard of St. James' Church in that city. Judge Yeates married, December 30, 1767, Sarah Burd, daughter of Colonel James Burd and his wife, Sarah Shippen. She died October 25, 1829. They had a large family of children, of whom *Mary* married Charles Smith, judge of the Ninth Judicial District, and *Elizabeth* married Redmond Conyngham, of Lancaster. Judge Yeates was the author of four volumes of "Reports of Cases in the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania," published after his death. Other papers, valuable correspondence, etc., which ought to have been preserved, have been "scattered to the four winds of heaven," enriching the collections of many an autograph-hunter. As a jurist, Judge Yeates held an eminent place; of inflexible integrity, his opinions were as clear and decisive as they were strong and bold.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

Notes.

Letter of John Cox to William Richards, of New Jersey.

Bloomsbury January 1 1789.

Dear Sir.

I received your favor by Scotland & should have immediately sent off Casteel but that I cou'd not possibly get a Person to supply his place. If my memory serves me you asked when I had the pleasure of last seeing you here, what I would wish done with Sambo. I really forget what my answer was. But my present wish is that you should employ him in the Forge in such way as you may think best.

I have long wanted to pay you a visit & could not make it convenient either want of health or unavoidable business has heretofore constantly prevented. But I now flatter myself with the pleasure of seeing you in the course of this or the next month, possibly at an Election for Representatives in Congress which by a late Law is to be holden at 8 different places as under mentioned which will afford the good People of Egharbor an opportunity [torn] in their votes without the trouble of riding fifty or sixty miles for that purpose—as it is a matter of the highest importance that we should have *good* men to serve us. I hope those entitled to vote will generally turn out on the occasion, [torn] be a sufficient reason for a removal of the Poll in future Elections. Heretofore the Election has been confined to *one* spot, by which the Inhabitants of the lower parts of the county have been deprived of the privilege of voting. The Poll is to open at Burlington on the 2d Wednesday in February next, which may, & take for granted will be adjourned from thence to the following places viz. Crosswicks, at the sign of the × Keys in Evesham; to Penny Hill; New Mills; Moorestown; Lamberton & Clam Town. The Poll will be adjourned in like manner in the County of Gloucester from the usual place of opening to Haddonfield; Swedesborough; May's Landing; [torn] Mill, & Absicom—

By the federal Constitution the Legislature have a right of electing both Senators & Electors—our House of Assembly not satisfied with the privileges given them by Constitution thought proper previous to their breaking up to name four men for Representatives viz. Elias Boudenot of Essex; Mr [torn] of Brunswick; Colonel Lambert Cadwalader of Trenton, & a Mr Sinnicson of Salem, which four gentlemen we are told the Western members have engaged to Run. Many of the first characters in this part of the State are not a little displeased with the conduct of the House, & seem determined to oppose the Ticket or at least two or three of the members named therein, & flatter themselves that every person who entertains just notions of liberty will join them [torn] by giving their voices for a different Ticket. The Gentlemen proposed to be Run by us are the following, viz

Elias Boudenot of Essex;
John Stevens Junr of Bergen
Robert Hoops of Sussex—&
Robert L. Hooper of Hunterdon or Doctor John Weatherspoon of Somerset, as the voters may choose—

If you should accord in opinion with me, which I flatter myself you will, that the above named Gentlemen are suitable characters to Represent us, I am induced to hope that you will not *only* give them your Vote, but what will be of infinite consequence to them your *Interest*, which I have no doubt is very considerable, & that you will exert it on the approaching occasion. If my Health will permit I shall most certainly be with you on the Day of Election, as I have the interest of the Candidates that I have mentioned, much at Heart.

Please to make my most affectionate Regards to Mrs. Richards & family, in which I am joined by Mrs Cox & Miss Hetty, & believe me to be with best wishes for your health & happiness

Dr Sir

Your obed Servt.

MR WM RICHARDS JOHN COX

LETTERS TO WILLIAM HENRY, OF LANCASTER, PA.—The following letters are addressed to William Henry, Deputy Commissary General and Treasurer, of Lancaster County.

SUSQUEHANNAH 28 Septr 1777.

SIR,

This will be delivered you by Major Picket of the Virginia Militia, many of whose men are unarmed and must be supplied out of the 500 stand that you proposed to collect. As these are good men, they ought to have good arms, and I entreat you Sir to furnish them, if in your power, to the satisfaction of Major Picket.

I am with regard, Sir

Your most obedient servant

RICHARD HENRY LEE.

SIR.

General Washington has informed me that the Persons mentioned in the enclosed Warrant are Emissaries of the Enemy. The first Andrew or George Tustin is a Brother in Law to Rankin comes frequently out as a spy thro the Jersey & passes to Lancaster County. He left New York the 27ult, & is probably at this Time on that Business. The other is John Starin or the Irish Dutchman because he speaks both Languages—he passes between New York & Lancaster accompanied by a lusty old man called John Smith who serves him as a Guide. They lately carried in 12 or 14 Recruits from Lancaster.

You will immediately on Receipt of this letter send to the Sheriff & take such Measures with him as will tend to secure such atrocious Villains. Judge Atlee is at this time absent, but should he return I request you would communicate this Letter to him not only for the Benefit of his Advice & Assistance in a Matter of such Importance but to prevent his admitting them to Bail if they should demand it. The Law authorizing the Council to apprehend suspected Persons being now expired.

We are in the greatest Distress for Money, Exchange daily rising as well as Goods & little or no Money coming into the Treasury from the Counties. The Army must separate this Winter, it being now impossible to collect Magazines to support them. We have now about 5000 Head of horned Cattle in the Neighbourhood of this City which are daily growing poorer & cannot be killed for Want of Salt, of which we cannot get a Bushel as we have neither Specie nor Continental Money & our Merchants will not touch State Money. The greatest part I think will die this Winter. We have happily suppressed the Spirit of Oppo-

sition in Berks County; we must act firmly & expeditiously on Matters of Taxation or we are undone. The Messenger waiting have only to add that I have never received the Packet which was sent to the Tavern near the Iron Works for me while upon the Tour. I must beg your attention to it & am with much Esteem

Sir Your Obed. Hble
Serv.
JOS REED.

PHILAD. Nov. 10, 1780.

PHILADELPHIA April 17th 1783.

SIR.

I did not give any particular attention to the Aurora Borealis which was seen here lately one evening the appearance was something remarkable the air was cold and very clear except Great Black and very Cold looking Cloud pretty high to the Southward, a little after dark, white Streams issued from all parts of the Cloud towards the Northern Hemisphere, to all appearance the Same with those of the Borealis but white only.

I am, Sir, Your friend
& Humble Servt
DAVd RITTENHOUSE

LETTER OF W. MACPHERSON.—Sir—I have the honor to address your Excellency, and the Supreme Executive Council, once more, on the subject of my being adopted by the State; my pretensions to which I had the honor to make known to your Excellency, and the Honble Council, when last in Philadelphia, and which from the Patronage your Excellency, and the Honble Council, were pleased to honor me with on my arrival from New York, and since, I am lead to believe will be thought sufficient. Permit me to mention to your Excellency and the Honble Council, that in the other States, natives holding Brevet Commissions, have been admitted to participate every advantage as if officers of the Line, without any kind of distinction, several instances of which General St. Clair who does me the honor to present this can inform your Excellency of.

I have the honor to be with the
most perfect respect
Your Excellencys
most obedient Servt

CAMP 24th Novr 1780. W. MACPHERSON.

MURAL TABLET TO COL. J. L. CHESTER, IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY,—in wall of the south aisle of the nave,—copied by Mr. T. H. Montgomery, for the *Pennsylvania Magazine.*

Colonel Joseph Lemuel Chester
LL.D. of Columbia College, New York City
as also D.C.L. of the University of Oxford
Born 30 April 1821 at Norwich, Connecticut, U.S.A.
Died 26 May 1882 in London
where he had resided many years
The learned Editor of
The Westminster Abbey Register
In grateful memory of the disinterested
Labours of an American Master of
English Genealogical Learning
This Tablet is erected
By the Dean and Chapter of Westminster.

OHIO ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL QUARTERLY.—We have received the first and second numbers (June and September) of the *Ohio Archæological and Historical Quarterly*, published under the auspices of the Society which gives it its name. Ohio is one of the richest fields in the United States for archæological and historical researches, and the *Quarterly* will undoubtedly influence a livelier local interest in these departments, as well as be the medium of correcting numerous errors which have crept into nearly all the works relating to the State, and are constantly being repeated in speeches, newspaper articles, and otherwise. "The Ordinance of 1787" and "Origin of the Ohio Company," by J. W. Andrews, "Archæological Directory of Ohio," by A. A. Graham, and "Bibliography of the Earthworks of Ohio," by Mrs. Cyrus Thomas, are articles that claim the attention of historical students. The *Quarterly* is a creditable specimen of the typographical art, and we wish it all the success it so certainly merits. It is distributed free to members of the Society, who pay five dollars annually; extra copies one dollar each. An increased membership will add to its effectiveness and promote the advancement of historical knowledge. This the Society desires.

LOCAL SKETCHES AND LEGENDS PERTAINING TO BUCKS AND MONTGOMERY COUNTIES, PENNSYLVANIA. By William J. Buck. 12mo, cloth, 340 pp. Price, $2.

The object of the author of this book, which will commend itself to every one who is interested in the legendary and traditionary history of old Bucks and younger Montgomery County, has been to bring together his lighter articles heretofore published, to which he has added much that is illustrative of the olden time and olden memories. As a number of these latter sketches are in a measure autobiographical, we may state that it is upwards of thirty-five years since Mr. Buck began his career as a local historical writer. "A Pennsylvania Wedding in 1684," "The Bird of Happy Omen," "Legend of Huckleberry Hill," "Nockamixon Rocks," "An Olden Time Corn Husking," "Legend of Sampson's Hill," "A Farmer's Kitchen of a Century ago," "The Traditions and Wonders of Horseheaven," "A Thrilling Incident," "Holicong: its Traditions and Mysteries," and "Pleasant Memories," are a few of the titles of the forty-three sketches which comprise his latest effort. The edition is limited to two hundred copies. On sale by Messrs. Porter & Coates.

NECROLOGY.—The deaths of the following Resident Members have been reported from October 1 to November 1, 1887:

Edward Waln, elected 21st July, 1841.
Joseph Patterson, elected 13th March, 1854.
Mathias Maris, elected 11th February, 1856.
Charles Spencer, elected 24th June, 1872.
Charles Willing, elected 28th January, 1878.
Isaac Welsh, elected 10th February, 1879.
Dr. N. A. Randolph, elected 24th January, 1887.
Guyer T. Jones, elected 28th March, 1887.

PORTRAITS OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN. (PENNA. MAG., Vol. XI. No. 2.)—Mr. Jeremiah Colburn, of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, Boston, sends the following: "Mr. Samuel H. Russell, of Boston, has a portrait of Franklin on Sèvres porcelain, signed S. Lienard."

The *Daily Gazette* of Davenport, Iowa, January 21, 1867, contains the following: ". . . A portrait of Ben. Franklin, painted by Robert Fulton of steamboat celebrity. On the back of the canvas is written 'R. Fulton,

Pinxt, 1787.' The history of this rare picture is distinctly traceable back thirty-three or thirty-four years, at which time it was sold at auction for twenty-five cents. For thirty years it hung without frame in the sitting-room of a farmer in Rhode Island. At another time it was used as a barrel-cover in a farmer's garret, and still later ornamented an engine-house. The present owner [Rev. Henry Baylies] found it in a photograph gallery in Fall River, Mass. . . ."

NEW JERSEY GENEALOGIES.—Samuel Adams Bavis, of No. 1011 Market Street, Philadelphia, will be pleased to give or receive information of the following families of New Jersey: Adams, Antrim, Bevis, Brackney, Bullock, Butcher, Crispin, Denman, Fearen, Garwood, Hancock, Hornby, Jasper, Jennings, Linch, Norcross, Petty, Pedrick, Scott, Smith, Stevenson, Stockton, Wetherill, Wright, Zelley.

THE AMERICAN GENEALOGICAL QUERIES, 1887.—We have received from Mr. R. H. Tilley, of Newport, R. I., a copy of his little pamphlet, the design of which is to aid those interested in family history. Early this year another volume will be published, in which much information of value to the genealogist will appear. Mr. Tilley requests that the address of those who are engaged in compiling family history be forwarded to him for proper arrangement and classification.

UNPUBLISHED MINUTES OF THE PROVINCIAL COUNCIL OF PENNSYLVANIA, 1692.—On page 153, "Governor *Duns* commission to Patrick Robinson for ye office of Attorney Generall, dated ye 11th day of ye 8th month 1691, was read &c," and on page 154, "a Letter is to be sent to Governor *Dun*"—for Gov. Dun read Gov. Penn.

THE HISTORICAL RECORD, A MONTHLY PUBLICATION, DEVOTED PRINCIPALLY TO THE EARLY HISTORY OF WYOMING VALLEY AND CONTIGUOUS TERRITORY, WITH NOTES AND QUERIES, BIOGRAPHICAL, ANTIQUARIAN, GENEALOGICAL. Edited by F. C. Johnson, M.D. Wilkesbarre.

In the August number, which closed the first volume of this excellent serial, the Editor announces that it will be hereafter issued quarterly instead of monthly, and that there will be no reduction in the quantity of matter for the year. It is also stated that with the material on hand, and the promise of much other matter, the second volume will be even more interesting and valuable than the first. Through the *Notes and Queries* of Dr. W. H. Egle, the *Historical Record* of Dr. Johnson, and the *Historical Journal* of J. F. Meginness, Esq., the history of the Susquehanna, with its North and West Branches and contiguous territory, is being elucidated in a commendable manner.

POCAHONTAS, ALIAS MATOAKA, AND HER DESCENDANTS THROUGH HER MARRIAGE AT JAMESTOWN, VIRGINIA, IN APRIL, 1614, WITH JOHN ROLFE, GENTLEMAN. With Biographical Sketches by Wyndham Robertson, and illustrative Historical Notes by R. A. Brock. J. W. Randolph & English, Richmond, Va. 8vo, 84 pp. Price, $1.50.

This work, the material for which the author has been collecting for more than thirty years, is a valuable contribution to the history of Provincial Virginia. It contains genealogical deduction of descendants of "The Nonpareilla of Virginia," to the seventh generation inclusive, and the notice of her, which is very full, involves incidentally a vindication of Captain Smith against the unfavorable strictures of some modern

critics. The notices of her husband John Rolfe, the first Secretary and Recorder-General of Virginia, and of their son Thomas, besides the names of Alfriend, Archer, Bentley, Bernard, Bland, Bolling, Branch, Cabell, Catlett, Cary, Dandridge, Dixon, Douglas, Duval, Eldridge, Ellett, Ferguson, Field, Fleming, Gay, Gordon, Griffin, Grayson, Harrison, Hubard, Lewis, Logan, Markham, Meade, McRae, Murray, Page, Poythress, Randolph, Robertson, Skipwith, Stanard, Tazewell, Walke, West, Whittle, are also prepared with care, and the appendix is filled with matter of special value and interest, for there is scarcely a scion from this stock which has not been more or less prominent. R. A. Brock, Esq., has added numerous illustrative historical notes. The book is illustrated with a photograph of "the Princess Pocahontas," from the original portrait (London, 1616), now in possession of Mr. Elwyn, one of the family of Rolfe, who for years have been residents of Norfolk County, England.

Queries.

PALATINES OF BLOCK ISLAND.—The query in reference to "the Palatines of Block Island," in July number of the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, has aroused in me a strong desire to obtain additional information of an eventful occurrence happening to two ladies, Mary and Jane Ahll, ancestors of prominent families in Pennsylvania. I traced the tradition in each branch, and they have had little intercourse. Prior to 1743, a party of wealthy emigrants, numbering about one hundred and well supplied with goods, sailed for America. It is said they started from Ireland, but as my informants—other ancestors—all came from the North of Ireland, I do not feel assured that she was certain on the point. The cupidity of the captain and sailors was excited, and by force or stratagem they landed the whole party on some barren island out of the course of ocean travel to this country and sailed away. Starvation rapidly diminished their numbers. The survivors became so weak that they were unable to bury the dead, and removed from one part of the island to another, until only about seventeen remained, when a ship was signaled and brought them to some port in America. The father, mother, and brothers of these ladies perished. One member of their family (sex unknown) was saved with them. Being reduced to poverty they were unable to repay the owners of the rescuing vessel, and were sold for a stipulated time as redemptioners to meet the demands for this service. Mary Ahll entered the service of a family named McClure, and Jane into that of a family named Sterrett, who were neighbors. The education and refinement of these ladies secured for them a different position from that ordinarily occupied by redemptioners. About 1743, Jane was married to John McClure. Mary was married to William Sterrett. Where their families lived at this time I know not. They came with the Scotch-Irish to the Carolinas, and not until 1748, when John McClure obtained a patent for land in Uwchland township, Chester County, Pennsylvania, of John and Richard Penn, do we know of their place of residence. It is possible that the Ahlls were landed at one of the Southern ports. This would bring them nearer the sandy islands south of Florida, where we believed they were abandoned. The Sterrett tradition is that they were landed in New York. The McClures hold to Philadelphia. One family says that the pirates sailed into a port where some of their victims recognized them and quick justice was meted out. The other family says the vessel was wrecked very soon after the "marooning" of the unfortunate emigrants, and only one

sailor escaped. Can you or any of your numerous readers give me information of this or a similar event happening during the early part of the eighteenth century? Probably your Charleston or Wilmington correspondents will know something about it. W. S. LONG, M.D.,
Haddonfield, N. J.

BETHUNE.—Information is desired by the undersigned as to the descendants of Nathaniel Bethune, b. Dec. 29, 1761; d. at Newton, Mass., April 24, 1814, who resided at one time in Bristol, Penna., and who is said to have left an only daughter Susan. The name of Nathaniel's wife is also wanted. CHARLES P. KEITH,
N. W. Corner 10th & Chestnut Sts.

HENRY MONTGOMERY AND HIS BROTHERS.—Information is desired as to Henry Montgomery, cabinet-maker in Philadelphia in 1824, who if living would be about eighty-seven years of age, but is said to have died before middle life. He was son of William Montgomery of Philadelphia, and had three half-brothers,—William, Robert, and Philip Moses Montgomery,—who were wool-merchants in Philadelphia in 1831, but whose subsequent history or whereabouts is unknown to me.
CHAS. P. KEITH,
N. W. Corner 10th & Chestnut Sts.

PASCHALL OR PASCAL.—I would like to communicate with any one knowing anything of the early history or antecedents of the family of Paschall of Pennsylvania, descended from Thomas Paschall, goldsmith, of Philadelphia, who died in 1718. Please address,
J. HENRY LEA,
Fairhaven, Mass.

TRUMBULL.—The members of the Trumbull family who have not been communicated with are begged to write to the undersigned, who is engaged in the compilation of a Genealogy of the Descendants of John Trumbull of Rowley, Mass. Any items of family history or tradition, records, wills, etc., will be most gratefully received. Address,
J. HENRY LEA.

WASHINGTON'S DIARY.—The Annotation on p. 299, PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE, should read "St. Mary's on Fourth Street." St. Joseph's was not used for High Mass, but St. Mary's was, in 1787.
M. I. J. G.

MANSFIELD WOODHOUSE.—In colonial times one of the townships of Sussex County, New Jersey, was named "Mansfield Woodhouse." What is the origin of the name? R.

WILLIAM ALLEN, MERCHANT, OF PHILADELPHIA.—Information is wanted of William Allen, "the eminent merchant of Philadelphia," when and where he was born, and his children's names, besides John and William (afterwards Chief Justice). Information is desired of his son John, when and where born, date of marriage, and names of children, if any. Did the merchant have a brother or son named Thomas? Any particulars besides those mentioned in former numbers of the PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE will be of value. J. H. A.

MEETINGS OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA, 1887.

A stated meeting was held on the evening of March 14, Vice-President Hon. H. Gates Jones in the chair.

The reading of the minutes having been dispensed with, the Chairman introduced General W. W. H. Davis, who delivered a lecture on "Cortez and Montezuma."

On motion, the thanks of the Society were tendered to General Davis for his very interesting and instructive lecture, which contained so much matter of intrinsic value upon a subject of great interest to all students of American history.

The Chairman announced that the Society had been the recipient of a recent donation from Mr. John F. Smith of two thousand dollars, and a legacy of one thousand dollars from Miss Rebecca Darby Smith, and of a painting of the old Market Street Bridge from the family of the late Mr. George Cuthbert.

Nominations for officers to be voted for at the next stated meeting being in order, J. Granville Leach, Esq., nominated the following:

President.
Brinton Coxe.

Vice-Presidents (to serve three years).
John Jordan, Jr., William M. Darlington.

Corresponding Secretary.
Gregory B. Keen.

Recording Secretary.
William Brooke Rawle.

Treasurer.
J. Edward Carpenter.

Council (to serve four years).
John Jordan, Jr., Samuel W. Pennypacker,
John B. Gest.

No other nominations being made, the meeting adjourned.

A stated meeting of the Society was held on the evening of the 9th of May, the President, Brinton Coxe, Esq., in the chair.

Minutes of the last meeting read and approved.

The report of the Council for the year 1886 was read, and ordered to be entered on the minutes.

A communication was read from Mrs. Richard Penn Lardner, presenting two portraits of Thomas Lawrence (Mayor of Philadelphia, 1727–49, and 1753–54) and his wife; also one from Miss Dinah Shannon, presenting a chair belonging to Robert Burns, the poet.

The following donations were also reported: by Mrs. Dr. Leyburn, of Baltimore, a miniature (painted by Sully in 1799) of her grandfather, Cyrus Griffin, of Virginia, the last President of the Continental Congress, a battle-piece, an antique clock, and various relics.

By will of Joshua C. Lawrence, two antique chairs.

On motion, the thanks of the Society were tendered to the several donors above mentioned for their respective gifts.

The President then introduced Mr. J. Franklin Jameson, of Johns Hopkins University, who read a paper on "William Usselinx, Founder of the Swedish West India Company," at the conclusion of which Dr. Charles J. Stillé offered a resolution of thanks for the very interesting, instructive, and able address, which was unanimously adopted.

The tellers appointed to conduct the annual election reported that the gentlemen nominated at the last stated meeting had been unanimously elected.

The meeting then adjourned.

A special meeting of the Society was held on the evening of 13th of June, Brinton Coxe, Esq., President, in the chair.

The reading of the minutes being dispensed with, the President announced that the special order of business was the presentation by the family of Dr. Hiester H. Muhlenberg, deceased, and Henry A. Muhlenberg, Esq., of Reading, of a portrait of the late Governor Joseph Hiester, and introduced the Hon. Richard Vaux, who read an address on the life and character of the Governor. Upon its conclusion, Richardson L. Wright, Esq., offered a resolution thanking Mr. Vaux for his interesting and able address, and on motion of George de B. Keim, Esq., it was

"*Resolved*, That the thanks of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania be and they are hereby tendered to the family of Dr. Hiester H. Muhlenberg, deceased, and to Henry A. Muhlenberg, Esq., of Reading, for the portrait of their ancestor, General Joseph Hiester, formerly Governor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and that the portrait be hung in the hall of this Society in commemoration of his distinguished public services and private worth."

On motion, adjourned.

A stated meeting of the Society was held on Monday evening, 15th of November, the President, Brinton Coxe, Esq., in the chair. The reading of the minutes, on motion, being dispensed with, the President introduced Charles J. Stillé, LL.D., who read his paper, "Comte de Broglie, the Proposed Stadtholder for America."

On motion of William M. Tilghman, Esq., it was

"*Resolved*, That the thanks of this meeting be and are hereby tendered to Dr. Stillé for his learned and most interesting paper, and that he be requested to furnish this Society with a copy for preservation."

Adjourned.

OFFICERS

OF

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

PRESIDENT.

BRINTON COXE.

HONORARY VICE-PRESIDENT.

AUBREY H. SMITH.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

HORATIO GATES JONES,
GEORGE DE B. KEIM,
JOHN JORDAN, JR.,
WILLIAM M. DARLINGTON,
CRAIG BIDDLE,
SAMUEL W. PENNYPACKER.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

GREGORY B. KEEN.

RECORDING SECRETARY.

WILLIAM BROOKE RAWLE.

TREASURER.

J. EDWARD CARPENTER.

LIBRARIAN.

FREDERICK D. STONE.

ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN.

JOHN W. JORDAN.

COUNCIL.

JOHN JORDAN, JR.,
SAMUEL W. PENNYPACKER,
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WILLIAM S. BAKER,
WILLIAM G. THOMAS,
OSWALD SEIDENSTICKER,
CHARLES ROBERTS,
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TRUSTEES OF THE PUBLICATION AND BINDING FUNDS.

JOHN JORDAN, JR., AUBREY H. SMITH,
CHARLES HARE HUTCHINSON.

TRUSTEES OF THE LIBRARY FUND.

FREDERICK D. STONE, JOHN JORDAN, JR.

TRUSTEES OF THE GILPIN FUND.

BRINTON COXE, JOHN JORDAN, JR.,
SAMUEL W. PENNYPACKER, CHARLES HARE HUTCHINSON,
CHARLES J. STILLÉ.

TRUSTEES OF THE ENDOWMENT FUND.

GEORGE DE B. KEIM, JOHN JORDAN, JR.,
BRINTON COXE.

STATED MEETINGS.

March 12, 1888. November 12, 1888.
May 7, 1888. January 14, 1889.

Annual membership	$5 00
Life membership	50 00
Publication Fund, life subscription . . .	25 00
Pennsylvania Magazine, per annum . . .	3 00

Payment may be made to the Librarian, at the Hall, 1300 Locust Street, or to the Collector.

EXTRACTS FROM THE REPORT OF THE FINANCE COMMITTEE TO THE COUNCIL.

Statement of Finances, December 31, 1886.

DR.

The Treasurer and Trustees charge themselves with the following:

Investments in Loans and Stocks . . .	$63,026 78	
Cash	1,435 04	

CR.

The Treasurer and Trustees claim credit for:

Publication Fund, Invested		$32,499 28
" " Uninvested		14 63
" Interest Account		887 65
Binding Fund, Invested		3,300 00
General Fund "		8,155 00
" " Interest Account . . .		190 67
Library Fund, Invested		8,400 00
" " Interest Account . . .		3 44
Endowment Fund, Invested		10,672 50
" " Uninvested		31 18
Real Estate (Cash in hand).		307 47
	$64,461 82	$64,461 82

Publication Fund.

Receipts: Cash on hand, December 31, 1886 .		$467 90
Interest on Investments, 1886 .		1,855 80
Subscriptions to Magazine, etc. .		854 34
		$3,178 04
Disbursements for 1886:		2,290 39
Balance in hands of Trustees . . .		$887 65

Binding Fund.

Receipts: Interest on Investments, 1886 . .		$233 43
Contributions		347 81
		$581 24
Disbursements: Expended in Binding . .		$581 24

General Fund.

Receipts:	Annual Dues, 1886		$4,095 00
	Legacy, Mrs. Susan R. Barton .		500 00
	Loan on account of Building Fund to repay Estate of T. Ward . .		565 41
	Interest and Dividends . . .		479 75
	" Trustees Endowment Fund		560 00
	Contributions		1,007 87
	Sale one share Girard Life and Trust Company Stock		320 00
			$7,528 03
Disbursements:	Paid Loan Estate T. Ward on account of Building Fund .	$565 41	
	Legacy of Mrs. Susan R. Barton to Endowment Fund .	500 00	
	Paid for three-fourths share of Girard Life Insurance Company Stock	249 00	
	Loan of John Jordan, Jr., paid	514 17	
	General Expenses, Taxes, and Sundries for 1886 . .	5,508 78	
			$7,337 36
Balance in hands of Treasurer . .			$190 67

Library Fund.

Receipts:	Interest on Investments . . .		$351 00
	Donation and Sales Duplicates .		321 50
			$672 50
Disbursements:	Paid Loan of John Jordan, Jr.	$28 54	
	Purchases of Books in 1886 .	640 52	669 06
Balance in hands of Trustees			$3 44

Endowment Account.

Receipts:	Interest on Investments . . .	$560 00
Disbursements:	Paid to Treasurer General Fund	$560 00

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(Family surnames of value in genealogical research are printed in SMALL CAPITALS; names of places in *italics*.)

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